

TRANSACTIONS
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ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

q.v
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY THE RIGHT HONBLE. SIR MOUNTSTUART E. GRANT DUFF,
G.C.S.I., President

I WISH in this, the eighth and last of the Presidential Addresses which I have been privileged to deliver, to carry you to the East, and to offer for your consideration some thoughts which have been brought back to my mind by a book I have been reading lately. This is an English translation by Mr. Beauchamp, a gentleman resident in Madras, made from the complete and corrected work of the Abbé Dubois upon Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies, which has been hitherto inedited. The Madras Government has very properly given its sanction and assistance to Mr. Beauchamp's useful labours.

The Abbé Dubois was a very remarkable man who in 1793, soon after becoming a priest, left France, in which anarchy was reigning supreme, and embarking for India buried himself for thirty years, in the Southern part of that country, devoting himself to the conversion of the natives. To attain this object he spared no trouble and braved every privation, renounced European dress, society and modes of life, making himself in every external respect a Hindu and

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participating in all the ways of the people, in so far as they were not distinctly vicious. His success as a Missionary, though probably as great or greater than that of any one in that country in modern times, was not very brilliant. Here is his own account of it, when, after returning to Europe in 1823 he became the head of the Missions Etrangères in Paris, a position which he occupied till his death, at eighty-three, in 1848.

'For my part I cannot boast of my successes in this sacred career during the period that I have laboured to promote the interests of the Christian religion. The restraints and privations under which I have lived, by conforming myself to the usages of the country ; embracing in many respects, the prejudices of the natives ; living like them, and becoming all but a Hindu myself ; in short, by being made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some—all these have proved of no avail to me to make proselytes—during the long period I have lived in India in the capacity of a Missionary, in all between two and three hundred converts of both sexes. Of this number two-thirds were Pariahs or beggars ; and the rest were composed of Sudras, vagrants and outcasts of several tribes, who being without resource turned Christians in order to form connections, chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested views.'

No one can foresee how far Christian influences of one kind or another may, if the Great British peace continues in India for another hundred years, affect the people. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, who was a philosopher, thought that India would eventually be Christianised in some form and possibly it may, if by Christianised we mean, profoundly affected by Christian Civilisation. Probably at this moment much the most powerful agency working in that direction is that of the Codes and next to this the generally good example set by the higher and many too of the lower servants of the Government. The Missionaries also of all ways of thinking probably produce some good result, mostly when they devote

themselves to purely educational work with no idea of making converts in the present, but trusting to their labours having some effect, in that direction, two or three generations hence.

The importance of the Abbé Dubois' book consists chiefly in this, that the scene of his labours was the part of the peninsula, which is inhabited chiefly by Dravidian races. These have been far less affected than the portions of India lying North of the Vindhyan range, by Aryan influences, and much less has been written about them than about their Northern neighbours, if neighbours be the fitting term to use when we are speaking of people who dwell so far apart.

When I was in Madras I did my best to incite the more educated portion of the people of Southern India to try to do more for the investigation of their own history and antiquities, not entirely without result ; but as yet we can only point to beginnings.

The Abbé Dubois' book is of little value in so far as it deals with matters of scholarly research. As Professor Max Müller points out, in an introduction to the work of Mr. Beauchamp, the Abbé belonged, not in point of time but in point of mental equipment, to the period before Sir William Jones. The crowning merit of his work consists in this, that it is a first-hand book written straight out of his personal experience. I would compare it in some respects to a work, which some of my hearers have probably met with, by a Mr. Thompson an American Missionary who spent a long time in Palestine and wrote an account of that country under the name of 'The Land and the Book.' Wherever that gentleman deals with history, philosophy, biblical criticism or religious thought, he is unfortunate ; but wherever he deals with the manners and customs of the people, with things amidst which he had lived and moved, he is quite excellent.

But the Abbé Dubois did what Mr. Thompson neither did nor was qualified to do—he studied the political condition of the country in which he lived and wrote most wisely about it.

'The European power,' he remarks, 'which is now established

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in India is, properly speaking, supported neither by physical force nor by moral influence. It is a piece of huge complicated machinery, moved by springs which have been arbitrarily adapted to it. Under the supremacy of the Brahmins the people of India hated their government, while they cherished and respected their rulers; under the supremacy of Europeans they hate and despise their rulers from the bottom of their hearts, while they cherish and respect their government. And here I would remark that the rule of all the Hindu princes, and often that of the Mahomedans, was properly speaking, Brahminical rule, since all posts of confidence were held by Brahmins.'

'If it be possible to ameliorate the condition of the people of India I am convinced that this desirable result will be attained under the new régime whatever may be said by detractors who are ready to find fault with everything. Whatever truth there may be in the prejudiced charges, engendered by ignorance and interested motives, which are brought against the new order of things, and which are perhaps inseparable from every great administration, I for one cannot believe that a nation so eminently distinguished for its beneficent and humane principles of government at home, and above all for its impartial justice to all classes alike—I for one cannot believe that this nation will ever be blind enough to compromise its noble character by refusing participation in these benefits, to a subject people which is content to live peaceably under its sway.'

'At the same time I venture to predict that it will attempt in vain to effect any very considerable changes in the social condition of the people of India, whose character, principles, customs and ineradicable conservatism will always present insurmountable obstacles. To make a people happy, it is essential that they themselves should desire to be made happy and should co-operate with those who are working for their happiness. Now, the people of India it appears to me neither possess this desire nor are anxious to co-operate to this end. Every reform which is obviously devised for their

well-being they obstinately push aside if it is likely in the least degree to disturb their manner of living, their most absurd prejudice, or their most puerile custom.'

' Nevertheless the justice and prudence which the present rulers display in endeavouring to make these people less unhappy than they have been hitherto ; the anxiety they manifest in increasing their material comfort ; above all, the inviolable respect which they constantly show for the customs and religious beliefs of the country ; and lastly, the protection they afford to the weak as well as to the strong, to the Brahmin as to the Pariah, to the Christian, to the Mahomedan, and to the Pagan : all these have contributed more to the consolidation of their power than even their victories and conquests. . . .'

' It has been asserted that any great power based neither on a display of force nor on the affection and esteem of subject races is bound sooner or later to topple under its own weight. I am far from sharing this opinion altogether. The present Government is in a position in which it has little or nothing to fear from extraneous disturbance. True it is that like all empires it is subject to possible chances of internal dissension, military revolt, and general insurrection. But I firmly believe that nothing of this sort will happen to it so long as it maintains amongst its troops the perfect discipline and the sense of comfort which at present exist, and so long as it does all in its power to make its yoke scarcely perceptible by permitting its subjects every freedom in the exercise of their social and religious practices.'

' It is the poverty of the country which in my opinion gives most cause for apprehension—a poverty which is accompanied by the most extraordinary supineness on the part of the people themselves. The question is will a Government which is rightly determined to be neither unjust nor oppressive be able always to find within the borders of this immense empire means sufficient to enable it to meet the heavy expenses of its administration ? But, after all, God alone can foretell the destiny of Governments.'

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This passage, as Mr. Beauchamp observes, shows very remarkable insight and is all the more notable as coming from a Frenchman. Almost every sentence is pregnant with the conclusions of long experience. Take the first paragraph: Few people in this country, who have not lived much in India and had to administer its affairs, realise the great difficulty of Brahmin ascendancy. The Brahmins form in the South, the part of India I know best, a mere fraction of the population; but they are beyond all comparison its most intelligent and highly educated portion. They have taken full advantage of our system under which the 'pen is king of the sword.' They swarm in all our public offices and rightly so, because they can do the work very much better than any of the other castes. At the same time they are a caste or rather a *congeries* of sub-castes and they hold together like a vast Trades-Union combined with a cousinhood.

Take the second paragraph. There could not have been a better forecast of the future. So far from refusing participation in the advantages of the beneficent and humane Government or the impartial justice which we have at home we have admitted our Indian fellow subjects to the enjoyment of these in the fullest possible measure and we have not only given to India *good Government* but we have given to the people at least as much *self-Government* as they are in any way fit for, at least as much as the sensible men amongst them at all desire. Demands are made from time to time for even more self-Government but they are altogether in the nature of the cries of children to whom their nurses refuse the enjoyment which they expect to derive from a case of razors.

If the Abbé could return to India now he would find it difficult to believe that he was in the same country which he left in 1823. In that year Sir Thomas Munro was the Governor of Madras and recorded a very important Minute on his tour in the Northern Circars. In the year 1883 I made a tour in the same districts and I do not think any one who wanted to understand how India had changed in sixty

years could do better than put side by side my great predecessor's Minute and my own. We seem to be speaking about different worlds. He was chiefly occupied with the political state of the country ; the main causes which led to the frequent disturbances of its tranquillity, and the means most likely to remedy the disorder. The great Zemindars, he remarked, have long had and still have such extensive power and influence as to claim the first place in every inquiry concerning the state of the country and nearly the whole of his Minute is occupied with them or their affairs. In my Minute they appear from time to time in various ways ; but as a political force, as persons dangerous or uncomfortable to the State, from their propensities to disorder, they are never mentioned or thought of. They are just as dangerous now to the British Raj as is the Duke of Sutherland, whose head, we were told truly or falsely in 1873, the Shah of Persia conceived ought to be struck off with a view to the safety of the reigning dynasty !

The principal Zemindar of my time now alas ! no longer alive, was the Maharajah of Vizianagram who owned a nice little estate not quite so large as three Surreys and was a model of all the virtues. So far from wishing to excite to disorder, when the Penjdeh incident took place and there was a question of war with Russia, he came to me and asked me to request the Viceroy to allow him to raise a regiment of Rajputs at his own expense and to lead them to the front.

While this matter was being discussed he was asked why he was so anxious about this. 'Because,' was his reply, 'it used to be always the custom in my family that its head should die on the battle-field. Now my grandfather died in his bed, my father died in his bed and I think if I was to be killed in battle it would please my mother so.' This answer coming from a man, who was an excellent scholar and in every way highly civilised, shows what wide differences there are and are likely long to remain between the Indian and the English mind.

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Another point which struck me was the immensely increased complication of life even in a comparatively backward part of the Madras Presidency and the immense variety of subjects which were brought before me by the people during my six weeks' journey. I heard a great deal about railways, harbours, lighthouses, landing facilities on an exposed part of the Coast, sugar factories, jute factories, the relations of Municipalities and their Constituents, forest management, road making, schools, orphanages, irrigation and many other subjects besides. In fact the Northern Circars had passed in some respects from the fifteenth to the later nineteenth Century.

Not less wise is the Abbé's third paragraph. To make a people happy it is indeed essential that they themselves should desire to be made happy and to cooperate with those who are working for their happiness. The two generations which had passed, between the Abbé's time and mine in South India, had made the people a good deal more willing to coöperate with us. In some matters they were very willing to do so; the more enlightened men among them were anxious for education, railways and irrigation works; but it was very difficult to get them to attend to the most elementary rules of sanitation or conservancy, while there were large departments of national life, with regard to which we Europeans could not dream of interfering, in which the force of inherited prejudice was still tremendous. I may mention the enormous expense of the marriage feasts and ceremonies which often hang a load of debt round the neck of the cultivator, making him a miserable instead of a prosperous man, and there are numerous other usages connected with domestic life which lie far outside the province of Government. Government never interferes with such things unless they amount to monstrous outrages upon humanity such, for instance, as the practice of Suttee.

When I say that the people were a good deal more willing to coöperate with us in 1883 than in 1823 I would not be understood to say that their coöperation was as active as

might have been desired. The Self-Government of Municipalities and Local Fund Boards has been, I fear, but a moderate success in most districts and from some very large towns, such as Agra and Calcutta, the accounts we receive with regard to native coöperation are the reverse of cheering.

If the Abbe's fifth paragraph had been duly pondered on, it would have prevented the Mutiny of 1857. Many causes no doubt contributed to bring about that calamity, but the relaxed state of discipline in the Native Army and the foolish over-confidence which led to it were the most important of all these causes. As long as we stay in India we must never forget for a moment that our power is based partly on force partly on policy. While we give its due importance to each of these two factors, that power will continue, but if we neglect to keep our arms bright or in every possible way to make the lives of the people as comfortable as we can, troublous times will once more be before us. A foreign race can never expect to be loved by its subjects ; the best it can hope for is to have its rule acquiesced in—every race in India saying 'We don't pretend to like the British ; but we like them a great deal better than any one else.' The deadliest of all dangers would menace us if we were to mistake for the opinion of the great masses of our subjects the trash which some of the not too valuable products of our own ill-devised higher education have learnt from an imperfect understanding of English history and politics. I attach no importance to any external dangers in India. 'England,' said a wise foreign observer, a few years ago, 'has but one danger in India—that is herself.' Strain every nerve to increase the material prosperity of the country ; interfere with no native usages which a civilised Government can tolerate, treat the advice of the more busy and forward section of your doctors with the same healthy scepticism with which you treat those of your priests, whilst steadily pressing forward such sanitary improvements as there is no doubt about. In all your improvements try and take the sensible part of the population with you, approaching things from their side, in the spirit of

a speech which was made by a Brahmin Member of our Legislative Council at Madras who, arguing in favour of a Bill for Compulsory Vaccination, pointed out that, so far from being an insult to the Great Goddess who presided over small-pox it was a tribute to her mighty power.

The Abbé's concluding remarks about the poverty of India do much credit to his sagacity. He puts his finger upon what is the real difficulty of our Indian Government, the impossibility of doing with the very small and light taxation, which is alone possible in India, all or nearly all the things that civilised administrators would like to do. A district in the Madras Presidency, presided over by a single officer, receiving something like 3,000/- a year, is bigger than Denmark. Just imagine into how many divisions such a country would have to be divided if it was to be brought up to a West European standard. At the same time it must be remembered that, since the Abbé's time, a great many wealth-creating Agencies have come into being and that the material prosperity of the country is increasing rapidly though not so rapidly as its rulers could desire. I am very sure that if he could return again to the Tamil Country, which he knew so well, he would say that he could not have believed that two generations and a half of men would have seen so vast an improvement.

One single irrigation work, which was begun and completed during the period of a little more than five years I passed in Southern India, governs the water supply of 900,000 acres and that is merely one specimen of what is being done all over the country.

One of the results of the settled Government which we have given to India is a great, some say, alarming increase of the population. No doubt that increase calls for careful watching; but I think that hardly sufficient importance is attached to three remedial agencies. In the first place there are still in India large pieces of country which are very thinly peopled and into which, as enlightenment spreads, the population will, I think, gradually be induced to send large

swarms. Till recently some of these regions have been practically inaccessible. I may point to such tracts as the great Jeypore Estate, in the Madras Presidency, of which many people have never heard to whom the Jeypore State in Rajputana is quite familiar. Then a very moderate increase in the return from agricultural land would suffice to add immensely to the food-producing power of the country. The amount of food raised per acre in India was, when I was there, pretty much the same as that of England in the days of Queen Anne.

Thirdly emigration, which was utterly unheard of when the Abbé Dubois was in India, has done and has still I think a good deal more to do for its inhabitants.

It is very gratifying to compare the description of the poverty of Southern India, as the Abbé saw it, with its present state, in spite of the immense increase in the population. If you were to set side by side the resources and the needs of the agricultural classes in many parts of Europe with the resources and needs of the people of Southern India, I suspect that a good deal more happiness would be found among the latter than among the former. Much of this proceeds from the Constitution of Hindu Society which makes a Poor Law unnecessary ; but much also comes from strong and steady Government. Before we had stopped the oppressions of petty tyrants and broken up the gangs of robbers which infested the country, life was perpetually disturbed in the most violent way. Even as late as the middle of this century, robbery, by armed bands, complicated with torture and murder was quite a common thing all over the country. In Tinnevelly, for example, one such robbery took place every night during the early service of living men. When I sent in 1883 to ask the Head of the Police how many such robberies there had been in the District of Tinnevelly, during the previous year, the answer which came back was, 'Not one'! That is an immense change to have been effected in little more than a generation and it is typical of what has been going on everywhere. Many of the

instincts of the people were excellent but want of knowledge quite as much as violence often prevented those instincts bringing forth good fruit. The Indian peasant for example had the strongest belief in the beneficent results of irrigation. He knew that water meant life and prosperity, the want of it poverty and death. What however could his unaided efforts do with a river like the Godavari which I have known, in the summer rains, come down twenty-seven feet deep and four miles broad ! To deal with such forces, settled Government, great supplies of capital, and trained scientific ability, were necessary. These we were able to give and the kind of result may be illustrated by an address which was delivered to me at a place situated, not on the Godavari but on another great river, the Kistna, which we have treated in the same way.

' In past times no part of India suffered more than this from the horrors of famine and your Excellency's father pointed out the territory between the Godavari and Kistna as liable to these visitations in their severest form and put on record a very terrible one. It often happened that whole villages were depopulated, and myriads of people perished for want of the water that flowed in abundance at their feet, and only just below the level of their dying crops to be swallowed up by the greedy ocean. As the huge volumes of water flowed grandly on, laden with rich fertilising yellow silt gathered by the river in its course through the Deccan, the enthusiastic General Cotton called it "liquid gold." The anicut, with its ramified system of canals, has certainly turned it into solid gold. At one stroke the mouths of a hungry and dying people have been filled with bread and the coffers of the Government with money. In place of dashing madly on to be lost in the sea, the Kistna now spreads fertility and beauty on all sides and had your Excellency come at a later period of the year the extensive tracts of flat country between this and the coast would present you with a sight worth seeing. No longer struggling for a bare existence or held in the grasp of sowcars, the people rejoice among their smiling crops, and the money-lenders have become

almost extinct. Even in famine years the Kistna never fails to do its duty, and the dire poverty that existed during the childhood of middle-aged men is almost forgotten in the general prosperity, and it is meet that we should express gratitude to the good Government that has done these great things for us.'

The natives, however, although they could not attempt to deal with the deltas of the great rivers by turning them from deserts into gardens, covered Southern India with innumerable artificial lakes some larger, some smaller, in which they caught the rain and distributed it over their fields, making use in the same way of small and manageable streams. We found however that these irrigation works did not do nearly as much good as they ought to do from not having been laid out in a scientific way and we set on foot an agency for the purpose of so connecting them and so rectifying errors in their construction as to enable them to do the greatest possible amount of good to the population.

Then during the Abbé's time and for long long after, the forests of Southern India were left to manage themselves. At length the Government woke up to the truth that, if it allowed people to work their will in them as they pleased, the most dire consequences would follow. Many agencies were set to work in the Madras Presidency until at last in 1882 with the help of Dr. now Sir Dietrich Brandis the whole Forest Legislation and management were put on a systematic footing, much increased revenues were secured for the Government and untold wealth for the people.

Another way in which we have combated the poverty of which the Abbé speaks is by the introduction of numerous new industries. The creation of roads and railways all over the land has provided for an immense number of people; the manufacture of cotton fabrics now carried on upon a great scale has provided for many others as has that of jute. The winning of coal gives employment to thousands, the receiving of imports from Europe or elsewhere and the sending forth of exports afford a livelihood to thousands more, vast tracts which when the Abbé left India were considered perfectly

useless and were abandoned to the wild beasts now produce tea and coffee. The man is still alive and well who was the principal agent in introducing Cinchona which, to say nothing of its immense direct effects in saving life and health, has brought ample wages to thousands of labourers employed in its cultivation and to hundreds employed in the working up and the distribution of its alkaloids. The authorities at Kew, one of the best and most truly imperial of our institutions stand ever ready to assist to the uttermost any Indian ruler who is anxious to experiment in new products which may be usefully grown in his province and every Indian ruler would do well to reciprocate their kindness, by sending home everything which he thinks can be useful either to Kew itself or to the Gardens out and inside of the Empire with which Kew is in constant communication.

One of the most visible proofs of the way in which the wealth of the people increases is the extraordinary number of ornaments which are to be seen. A stranger from Europe, who found himself at the prize-giving of a girls' school in Southern India, would be simply astonished by the quantity and often by the beauty of the jewellery which he would observe around him. I suppose there are about ten jewellers in South India for every one there is in England. Of course this is rather a primitive method for the hoarding up of wealth. It would do much more for the good of the country if it were otherwise applied. That will come with time but at least the wealth is there.

In the old days travellers from the West fixed their eyes only on the splendour of the Native Courts and imagined India to be much richer than it was. They did not know that the simple rule of the financiers of those Courts was to take everything from the people save a bare subsistence. Times changed and people like the Abbé pointed out most wisely and righteously the delusions which had made European travellers describe India as a land of pearls and gold. Now however it is the fashion to run to the opposite extreme and to suppose that India is a great deal poorer than

she really is. If it had not been for the wicked folly of our two great Afghan wars, the one waged by the Liberals, the other by the Conservatives *plus* the War of the Mutiny for which India had to thank the folly not of her rulers but of the Native Army, she would hardly be taxed in any true sense at all.

Here is another admirable passage from Dubois :

'Let our theoretical philanthropists, with their mistaken and superficial notions concerning the genius and character of the Hindus and the varied and multitudinous social links that bind them together, exclaim as much as they please in their unreflecting enthusiasm, that nothing has been done for the physical and spiritual improvement of the race. My reply is, "Why do you expound your shallow theories in Europe? Come and study the question on the spot. Make personal inquiry into the manners and customs of the people; realise for yourselves whether all possible means have been tried with a view to gaining this desirable end. And then, but not till then, make up your minds on the question."

Unhappily that foolish breed of persons has by no means died out and there are people, who echo all the silliest talk of the disaffected portion of the class which we have reared up in our schools and colleges, falsifying history and belittling what we have done in India.

This nation has I think great reason to be proud of the work it has done there, and we may quite safely say that no country has ever done as good work of the same kind on anything like so great a scale. At the same time I think, in speaking of India, we should always remember the maxim *Respic finem*. It is perfectly impossible for anyone to prophesy how so tremendous an experiment will end. A great many things in India are steadily improving; but those who know the country best will be the last to deny that there are forces at work which may lead to grave disasters. One cannot feel too much contempt for the sort of people to whom the Abbé addresses the warning I have just read. There are a good many such; but I have on the other hand no sympathy

with those who consider that India is the pivot and centre, not the geographical but the political centre, of our Imperial system. That I think is a wild delusion worthy only of the eccentric Emir in Disraeli's 'Tancred,' and yet it appeared in a speech as reported in the 'Times' of November 8 made by the present Viceroy. There can be no political centre of the British Empire save the British Islands. We should never forget that we are a great Asiatic power; but if we treat India as a foundation-stone and not merely as a very important outlying portion of our Dominions, we shall commit a frightful blunder. India is our great Vassal Empire in Asia. It is nothing more and nothing less.

I am of opinion that we should do our very utmost, if not to command at least to deserve success in our Indian experiment; but to say that our success there will be the touchstone of our national greatness or of our national failure is to go a great deal too far. I am not likely to undervalue India but I think we might continue great even if India were to return again to the confusion and misery which preceded the days in which we first asserted our power in that country or continent, always supposing that its doing so were not a result of our own amiable folly. We were in a very foolish mood a few years ago and might have yielded to agitation a good deal more than would have been wise. I trust we shall not see a recrudescence of that amiable folly when the inevitable reaction to the spread-eagleism or Jingoism of the hour at length comes about.

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THE RAISING OF THE IRONSIDES

By C. H. FIRTH, Esq.

Read April 20, 1899.

THE term 'Iron-sides' was a nickname, originally conferred upon Cromwell by Prince Rupert, which was afterwards applied to the regiment, as well as to the man who commanded it. Popular usage has come to employ it as a designation for Cromwell's troopers rather than for Cromwell himself, and in its popular sense it is employed in the title of this paper.¹ In this paper, therefore, I shall attempt to trace the history of Cromwell's regiment of horse from its origin in 1643 to its incorporation in the New Model in 1645, and to show how it was raised, equipped, and organised, and by whom it was commanded.

The nucleus of Cromwell's regiment was the troop of horse which he raised at the beginning of the Civil War. In the list of the army under the Earl of Essex in 1642 there

¹ 'Lieutenant General Cromwell, alias Ironside, for that title was given him by Prince Rupert after his defeat neere York' (*Mercurius Civicus*, September 19-26, 1644).

'News being brought them, as a countryman told the General next day, that Ironsides was comming to joyne with the Parliament's Army' (*A more exact and perfect relation of the great victory in Naseby Field, 1645*). Heath, in his *Flagellum, 1663*, speaks of Cromwell at Marston Moor as 'gaining here the title of Ironsides from the impenetrable strength of his troops, which could by no means be broken or divided' (p. 29). Lilly, in his *Autobiography*, written about 1667, says of the same battle: 'The honour of that day's fight was given to Manchester, Sir Thomas Fairfax's brigade of horse, and Oliver Cromwell's iron-sides; for Cromwell's horse in those times usually wore headpieces, back and breastplates of iron' (p. 144, ed. 1774). The last passage, is, I believe, the first instance in which it is directly applied to Cromwell's soldiers. For a discussion of the term, see also Lieut.-Col. Ross, *Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides* (p. 19).

are 75 troops of horse, and the 67th troop is that of Oliver Cromwell. It must not be supposed that the troops enumerated in this list were raised entirely at the expense of the persons commanding them, though no doubt some few of them were. Cromwell was not rich, and, like other leading Parliamentarians, he had subscribed liberally to the loan for raising Essex's army. He contributed 500*l.* for that purpose, which was probably not much less than a year's income.¹ From the fund obtained by these subscriptions and from loans procured in London the Parliament defrayed the cost of equipping its troops. A captain who was given a commission to raise a troop of horse received a certain sum from the Treasury to enable him to mount and arm his troopers and his subordinate officers. This sum was called 'mounting money,' and Cromwell's name appears in a list of 80 captains who were each of them paid the sum of 1,104*l.* for this purpose.²

Cromwell's officers consisted of Lieutenant Cuthbert Baildon, Cornet Joseph Waterhouse, and Quartermaster John Desborough, and his men were probably volunteers enlisted in Huntingdonshire and Cambridge.³ The business of raising the troop was completed in August 1642, and in September it was ready to take the field. The first notice of it to be

¹ Cf. Carlyle, Letter xvii. 'The business of Ireland and England,' writes Cromwell, 'hath had of me in money between 1,100 and 1,200 pounds.' Cromwell promised 500*l.* for raising an army, June 5, 1642 (Sanford, *Studies and Illustrations*, p. 491). For the reduction of Ireland he subscribed another 500*l.* (Rushworth, v. 564).

² *Exchequer Papers.*

³ A pamphlet published in 1652 contains a passage which doubtless refers to Cromwell's exhortations when he was collecting his volunteers. 'Hear, my Lord Oliver Cromwell,' says the author, 'I claim protection from you by virtue of the oath you have sworn unto the people, and confirmed by many reiterations, vows and protestations, as that protest at Huntington in the Market House, myself there present, and these words I challenge you to make good which you declared, the words are these: you sought not ours but us and our welfare, and to stand with us for the liberty of the gospel and the laws of the land' (*Theauro John his Disputive Challenge to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge*, March 1652, p. 6. On Cromwell's doings at Cambridge, see Kingston, *East Anglia and the Civil War*, pp. 50, 56, 57, 68, and Tangye, *Two Protectors*, p. 59).

found in the accounts is a payment dated September 7, 1642, for a month's pay due to Captain Oliver Cromwell's troop of 60 men, mustered on August 29, and the receipt is signed by John Desborough.¹ A week later, on September 13, 1642, 'the Committee appointed to settle the affairs of the kingdom' ordered that Captain Cromwell and two other officers named 'should forthwith muster their troops of horse, and make themselves ready to go to his Excellency the Earl of Essex,' who had set out three days before for the headquarters of his army at Northampton.² Cromwell accordingly joined Essex, and his troop was put into the Lord General's own regiment of horse, under the command of Sir Philip Stapleton. Under Stapleton's command Cromwell and his troop fought at Edgehill, though there is some evidence that Cromwell was not on the field at the time when the battle begun, but arrived later.³

¹ *Exchequer Papers.* Desborough was paid 210*l.*, a month's pay for 60 troopers, but nothing for the officers.

² Sanford, *Studies and Illustrations*, p. 519.

³ Nathaniel Fiennes, in his account of the battle of Edgehill, says at the end: 'These persons underwritten were of the right wing, and never stirred from their troops, but they and their troops fought till the last minute.' Then follows a list of the regiments of the Lord General and Sir William Balfour, and in the list of the general's regiment which was commanded by Sir Philip Stapleton occurs the name of Captain Cromwell. On the other hand, in a letter to Lord Say, which serves as a preface to the same pamphlet, Nathaniel Fiennes gives a long account of the doings of his brother John, who, having been detached to Evesham a couple of days before the battle, did not arrive at Keynton till between three and four o'clock on the afternoon of the day when the battle was fought. There he met the flying cavalry of the Parliamentary left, and did his best to persuade some of them to stand. In time he 'gathered a pretty body upon a hill together, and with them (there being Captain Keightley's and Captain Cromwell's troope at length came to them also) he marched towards the town.' Finally, says Fiennes, his brother joined Hampden's brigade, and they came to the army together. This statement is obviously very difficult to reconcile with the other statement about Cromwell and his troop which the same pamphlet contains. The only solution seems to be that Cromwell and his men, though not on the field when the battle began, yet came up in time to take part in the final struggle with the Royalists.

His absence at the beginning of the battle would to some extent explain the Royalist stories to the effect that he took no part in it at all. Holles, for instance, writing in 1647, accuses Cromwell of 'lase keeping out of the field at Keinton Battle; where he with his troop of horse came not in, impudently and ridiculously

After Edgehill Essex retreated to Warwick, but about the beginning of November his army was quartered about London. The next notice of Cromwell's troop is a warrant from Essex, dated December 17, 1642, for a fortnight's pay to Captain Cromwell's troop. In it Cromwell is described as captain 'of a troop of 80 harquebusiers.'¹ The meaning and use of the term harquebusiers are explained in a later part of this paper; at present it is enough to say that harquebusiers were a class of cavalry less heavily armed than cuirassiers. The fact that Cromwell's troop of 60 had now become a troop of 80 is also worth noting, though it is not easy to explain.²

affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, 20 or 30 miles off' (*Memoirs*, p. 17).

¹ 'Theis are to will and require you forthwith out of the Treasure remayning in yo' hands to paie unto Captaine Oliver Cromwell Captaine off a Troope of Eightie harquebuziers for one halfe monthes paie of the saide Troope commencing from the tenth daie of this instant December inclusive, the some of Two hundred and four Pounds and thirteen shillings, and for soe doing this shal be yo' Warrant.

' Dated this XVIIth daie of December 1642.

ESSEX.

' To Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Baron^t.

' Trear. of the Army or his Deputie.

' Ro: CHAMBERS.'

Chambers was the secretary of the Earl of Essex, and the sum mentioned represented the pay of the officers of Cromwell's troop as well as the men. A letter from Cromwell to Captain Vernon, one of the paymasters of the army, follows:

' Capt. Vernon: I desire you to pay this bearer George Barton my servant the monie accordinge to this warrant from his Excellency due to mee and my troupe, and I shall rest your loving freind,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

' Dec. 17, 1642.'

[On back]. ' To Captayne Vernon—present theise.'

NOTE.—The Warrant No. 1 has at foot the following receipt:—

' Rec^d this 19th December 1642 by ['virtue' or 'force,' a little indistinct] ' of this Warr' Two hundred and four Pounds XIII shillings £204 13.

' GEORGE + BARTON (Mark).

' By order of Capt. Cromwell.'

Notes and Queries, second series, xii. 285.

² In the spring of 1644 the normal size of the troop in 'the army under Essex' was fixed at 80. It is possible that the change may have begun at the end of 1642,

Less than a month later Cromwell left the army under Essex to return to the eastern counties. At the close of 1642 the need of united action for defensive purposes led to the formation of little local leagues amongst the counties supporting the Parliament. On December 22, 1642, the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge established what was known as the Eastern Association. On January 16, 1643, eight midland counties, including Huntingdonshire, formed a similar association, but, unlike the former, it soon broke up.

Cromwell, as member for Cambridge, was appointed one of the committee for that county, and being a person of influence in Huntingdonshire, was one of its committee also. In both capacities, therefore, he was wanted in the eastern counties, and obtained leave from Essex to repair thither, and to take his troop with him, as soon as the first campaign was over. There Cromwell hoped to carry out the scheme which he had discussed to Hampden—to raise men that 'had a spirit that would do something in the work,' a spirit that was likely to go on as far as gentlemen would go—such men as had the fear of God before them and made some conscience of what they did.¹ With this object before him he set out from London about the beginning of January 1643. On his way down, about January 14, he seized the Royalist

or it may be that some weak troop of horse (of which there were many under Essex) had been reduced into Cromwell's after Edgehill. Possibly fresh recruits from the eastern counties may have swollen the numbers of Cromwell's troop.

¹ "I had a very worthy friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army, of some new regiments; and told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing in such men as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work . . . Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows. Their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you think the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? . . . You must get men of a spirit. . . . that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will do, or else you will be beaten still. . . . He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion but an

high sheriff of Hertfordshire, as he was proclaiming the King's Commission of Array at St. Albans, and sent him up to London to answer for his conduct to Parliament.¹ On January 23, or thereabouts, he was at Huntingdon,² and three or four days later at Cambridge.³ Cromwell brought his commission to raise a regiment in his pocket. He is described as colonel in the proceedings of the Norfolk Committee on January 26, 1643,⁴ and in a letter written by Lord Grey on February 6, though it is not till March that he is mentioned as a colonel in the newspapers. His commission was probably not derived from Essex, but from Lord Grey. William Lord Grey of Wark had been chosen Commander-in-Chief of all the forces to be raised in the Eastern Association, with the rank of major-general, and Essex had been desired to grant him a commission empowering him to appoint colonels, captains, and other officers. It was from Lord Grey, therefore, that Cromwell's commission as colonel was probably derived.⁵

impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do somewhat in it. I did so . . . I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did, and from that day forward . . . they were never beaten' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Speech xi.). Cf. Gardiner, i. 40.

¹ *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligence*, 10-17 January. Cf. Kingston, *Herts during the Civil War*, p. 31.

² See Letter iv. in Carlyle's *Collection*, from Cromwell to his neighbour Barnard. The place is added by Carlyle, but there is little doubt it is correct.

³ See Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Appendix iv., two letters signed by Cromwell about January 27 from Cambridge.

⁴ *Tanner MSS.*, lxiv. 125.

⁵ 'Gentlemen,—Having been requested by divers of the Deputy Lieutenants of the Associated Counties, members of the House of Commons and others, to be present this day at their committee, the cheife matter in debate was the subject of a letter verie lately received from Collonel Cromwell concerning some present supply of forces, but, because none of the County of Hertford were present, and they not knowing what propositions would be made at your meeting or what proceedings other counties have made upon the order of the Association, have with my advice thought fit to desire Sir Willian Rowe and Sir Thomas Honywood to give you a meeting on the behalfe of the Essex Committee, to the end they may give you an account how far that businesse is advanced in Essex, and to receyve your resolutions therein, as you shall be pleased to offer them, and upon hearing (at their returne) what shall be propounded in any particular, we shall speedilie fall to a positive conclusion, conceyving that the securing of those

As soon as he was established at Cambridge, Cromwell set to work to convert his troop into a regiment. The principle upon which he selected his officers and enlisted his men was that set forth in his conversation with Hampden. He had already put it into practice in the formation of his original troop. 'At his first entrance into the wars,' writes Baxter, 'being but a captain of horse he had special care to get religious men into his troop. These men were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and therefore more apprehensive of the importance and consequence of war; and making not money but that which they took for the public felicity to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant; for he that maketh money his end doth esteem his life above his pay, and therefore is like enough to save it, when danger comes, if possibly he can: but he that taketh the felicity of Church and State to be his end, esteemeth it above his life, and therefore will the sooner lay down his life for it. And men of parts and understanding know how to manage their business, and know that flying is the surest way to death, and that standing to it is the likeliest way to escape; there being many usually that fall in flight for one that falls in valiant fight. These things 'tis probable Cromwell understood; and that none would be such engaged valiant men as the religious. But yet I conjecture, that at his first choosing such men into his troop, it was the very esteem and love of religious men that principally moved him; and the avoiding of those disorders, mutinies, plunderings, and

passages mentioned by Collonel Cromwell and others, is of greate importance for the safetie of these five counties.

'His Majesty hath this day sent us propositions which fills both houses with businesse that denies the absence of any member, otherwise divers gentlemen of the House of Commons would willingly have attended this service, whose absence there from I know you will excuse, thus recommending the successe of your good intentions and endeavours to supreme blessing I rest

'Your verie affectionate friend,

'GREY of WARK.

'London, the 6th of Feb. 1642.

'To my worthy friends the Deputye Lieutenants of the Associated Countyes of Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridge, and Hartford.'—*Tanner MSS.*, lxiv. 157.

grievances of the country, which deboist men in armies are commonly guilty of. By this means he indeed sped better than he expected. Aires, Desborough, Berry, Evanson, and the rest of that troop did prove so valiant, that as far as I could learn they never once ran away before an enemy.¹

Whitelocke briefly confirms Baxter's statement, describing the regiment as 'most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel and under Cromwell. And thus being well armed within, by the satisfaction of their consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly and charge desperately.'² Cromwell's opponents amongst his own party complained bitterly of the method in which he selected his officers. 'Col. Cromwell raying of his regiment,' wrote one of them in 1645, 'makes choyce of his officers, not such as weare souldiers or men of estate, but such as were common men, pore and of mean parentage, onely he would give them the title of godly pretious men. . . . I have heard him oftentimes say that it must not be souldiers nor Scots that must doe this worke, but it must be the godly to this purpose. . . . If you looke upon his own regiment of horse see what a swarne ther is of thos that call themselves the godly; some of them profess they have sene visions and had revelations.'³

But in spite of the fact that Cromwell's officers were most of

¹ *Reliquiae Baxteriana*, p. 98.

² Whitelocke's *Memorials*, i. 209 ed. 1853. A contemporary biographer gives the following fantastic account of the method in which Cromwell picked out his soldiers. It is a good example of the stories which grew up: 'In listing, he picked out such only as he judged to be stout and resolute. But lest he might have been mistaken in his choice, as soon as he had filled up his troop he used this stratagem to try them, upon the first muster of them, he privily placed twelve resolute men in ambuscado (it being near some of the King's garrisons) who upon a signal or at a time appointed, with a trumpet sounding a charge, galloped furiously to the body, out of which some twenty instantly fled for fear and dismay; from these he took their horses, and got them mounted with others more courageous.'—Henry Fletcher, *The Perfect Politician*, 1660, p. 3.

³ *Manchester's Quarrel with Cromwell*, p. 72.

them men of no great local position, and that his men were selected with far more care than was usual, the development of his troop into a regiment was astonishingly rapid. In March 1643, when Cromwell suppressed the intended Royalist rising at Lowestoft, he had with him, according to a contemporary letter, 'his five troops.'¹ In September, when Lincolnshire was added to the Eastern Association, the ordinance authorising the addition states that 'Colonel Cromwell hath ten troops of horse already armed, which were heretofore raised in the said Associated Counties.'² Baxter states that Cromwell's regiment became in the end 'a double regiment of fourteen full troops, and all these as full of religious men as he could get.'³ Baxter's statement has been called in question, on the ground that six troops was the usual number in a regiment,⁴ but the fact that Cromwell's regiment did actually contain fourteen troops is proved by the existence of a pay roll for Manchester's army showing the sums paid by his treasurer, Gregory Gawsell, to different troops and companies between April 29, 1644, and March 1, 1645.⁵ Taking this list as a basis it is possible to show who the commanders of these fourteen troops were and when they were raised.

THE FOURTEEN TROOPS AND THEIR OFFICERS

The existence of the fourteen troops is proved, as has been stated, by the accounts of the paymaster of Manchester's army, and by the explicit statement of Richard Baxter. The names of the officers themselves can be collected from the accounts, from Cromwell's letters, and from the newspapers and correspondence of the period. The lives of all the more important officers can be traced from the time when they

¹ Letter of John Cory to Sir John Potts, March 17, 1643, printed in Carlyle's *Cromwell*.

² Husbands, *Ordinances, etc.*, ii. 331, September 20, 1643.

³ *Reliquie Baxteriana*, p. 98.

⁴ *Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides*, by Lieut.-Col. W. G. Ross, 1889, p. 29.

⁵ *Exchequer MSS.*

joined the regiment to the Restoration, and even in some cases later.

1. Cromwell's own troop claims the first place. Lieutenant Cuthbert Baildon and Cornet Joseph Waterhouse, the two officers named in the list of the army under Essex as belonging to Cromwell's troops, are not heard of again in connection with the regiment. The command of the colonel's troop or company in any regiment was during the civil war practically vested in his lieutenant, who bore the title of captain-lieutenant. Cromwell's captain-lieutenant in 1643 was James Berry, who had been before the war, (according to Richard Baxter) a clerk in some ironworks in Shropshire. At the battle of Gainsborough in July 1643, Berry slew Charles Cavendish, the Royalist general, 'with a thrust under his short ribs,' as Cromwell's despatch relates (Carlyle, Letter XI.). And in August 1644 he became captain of a vacant troop in the regiment. Berry was succeeded as captain-lieutenant by John Gladman, who held that rank in 1645, when the regiment was incorporated in the New Model.¹ Berry passed into another regiment as major in 1647, and became colonel in 1651. His subsequent career is traced in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

2. The second troop in the regiment was that of Edward Whalley, Cromwell's cousin. He is styled captain in the ordinance of April 25, 1643, empowering Cromwell to seize the horses and plate of malignants. In Cromwell's despatch on the battle of Gainsborough, Cromwell describes Whalley as his major, and in narrating the retreat after the battle he says 'Major Whalley did in this carry himself with all gallantry becoming a gentleman and a Christian' (Carlyle, Letter XII.). In 1644 Whalley became lieutenant-colonel

¹ Berry is first mentioned as a captain in the accounts under August 1644, and Gladman as captain-lieutenant in September 1644. Cromwell's cornet in September 1644 was — Gething or Gethings.

In Cromwell's troop one of the corporals was a certain Peter Wallis, who was ordered on March 2, 1643-4, to be paid 30/- for discharging the quarters of the troop. He subsequently became major of Henry Cromwell's regiment of horse in Ireland.

of the regiment. Cavalry regiments in general at this period did not possess lieutenant-colonels, which was a rank confined to infantry regiments.¹ In the New Model no cavalry regiment had a lieutenant-colonel, but Cromwell's regiment, with the fourteen troops it finally numbered, was so large that an additional field officer doubtless seemed necessary, and for that reason Whalley was made its lieutenant-colonel. There was another regiment also in the army of the Eastern Association—viz. Manchester's own regiment of horse—which contained in 1644 no less than eleven troops, and in consequence it also had a lieutenant-colonel, in the person of Nathaniel Rich.

3. The third troop to be formed was pretty certainly that commanded by John Desborough.² Desborough, the husband of Cromwell's sister Jane, began the campaign of 1644 as quartermaster to his brother-in-law's troop. His commission as captain dates from April 1643 or earlier. A warrant for the pay of a trooper named Lewis Browne of Cambridge states that he entered the troop of Captain John Desborough on April 12, 1643, and Desborough is mentioned as a captain in the sequestration ordinance of April 25, 1643. When Whalley was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of the regiment Desborough became its major, and held that rank when it was incorporated in the New Model in 1645.³ He became a colonel in 1649, and lieutenant-general in 1659. An account of his life is contained in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

4. The fourth troop was that commanded by Cromwell's son, young Oliver. Baptised on February 6, 1623, he was now just over twenty years old, and had entered Essex's army in 1642 as cornet to Lord St. John's troop of horse.

¹ Whalley is described as lieutenant-colonel on July 25, 1644, and earlier. He became colonel on the formation of the New Model, and his life is contained in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² The proper spelling of his name is apparently Dishbrowe, but the form given above is that generally used and that by which he is known to fame.

³ He is described as major in Gawsell's account of pay due to Manchester's army from April 29, 1644, to March 1, 1645.

A curious letter from him to the Steward of Norwich, dated August 15, 1643, about some deserters from his troop, is printed in 'Notes and Queries.'¹

According to the author of the 'Squire Papers,' young Cromwell was killed at a skirmish near Knaresborough just before the battle of Marston Moor, but it is now ascertained that he died of smallpox in his quarters at Newport Pagnell about March 1644. 'A civil young gentleman, and the joy of his father,' says the newspaper which relates his death.²

On his death the command of the troop went to Captain John Browne, who still held it at the formation of the New Model.³ Browne became major in 1649, left the army after the battle of Worcester, re-entered it in 1658, and played a small part in bringing about the restoration of Charles II.

¹ 'Worthie Sir,—I am sorry that I should have an occasion to write to Norwich concerning those which say they came from that noble Cittie, which hath furnished our armies (I can speak by experience) with Godly men, but indeed I suppose them rather spurious offspring of some ignoble place. Sir, thus it is that among many honest men some knaves have been admitted into my troope, which coming with expectation of some base ends, being frustrated of them and finding that this cause did not nourish their expectations, have to the dishonor of God, my discredit, and their own infamie, dissersetted the cause and me their Captayne, therefore Sir, looke upon them as dishonorers of God's cause, and high displeasers of my father, my selfe, and the whole regiment, in breife I would desire you to make them severe examples by takeing and returning the armes and horses of all that have not a Tickett under my hand and to clapp them upp into prison and inflicting of such punishment as you shall think fitt, especially I desire you would deale severely with one Robert Waffe and Symon Scafe. Pray Sir cause to retурne speedily all that had libertie from me to go to their freinds. And likewise, I desire you would secure a good horse from some of your malignants to mount one of my souldiers John Manyng now at Norwich, who was lately taken prisoner by the Enemy, and by that means destitute and pray doe me the favour to mount such men as this bearer Richard Waddelow my Clerke shall procure and so I rest

'Yours to command

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'From my quarters at Peterborough 15th of August 1643.

'To the right worp^{ll} and worthie freind Samuell Smythe Esqr^e Steward of the City for Norwich these.'

² *The Parliament Scout*, March 15–22, 1644; cf. Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, i. 314.

³ The troop is mentioned as Captain Cromwell's in the account for January 1644, and as Cromwell's and Browne's in the account for the period for March 1644 to April 1645. Browne's cornet in January 1645 was Alexander Akehurst.

5. Like its four predecessors, the fifth troop was commanded by one of Cromwell's relatives. Its captain was young Valentine Walton, son of Cromwell's sister Margaret and of Colonel Valentine Walton, the Governor of Lynn.¹ This was the young officer whose death at Marston Moor Cromwell relates in Letter XXI. in Carlyle's 'Collection.' 'A gallant young man, exceeding gracious,' writes his Colonel, and 'exceedingly beloved in the army of all that knew him,' who died lamenting that God had not suffered him to be any more 'the executioner of his enemies,' and bidding his men 'open to the right and left that he might see the rogues run.'

Walton's troop passed to William Packer, formerly, I believe, its lieutenant,² who continued with the regiment after its incorporation in the New Model, becoming a major about 1652, and colonel in 1659. His life is given in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

6. The sixth troop was that of Captain Ayers, or Ayres. Who Captain Ayres was it is difficult to say. He may perhaps be identical with a certain William Eyres, a friend of Harry Marten's, and a leading spirit amongst the Levellers.³ At all events, whoever he was he left the regiment about June 1644, and his troop was given to James Berry, who has been already mentioned as the captain-lieutenant of Cromwell's own troop.⁴ Berry kept the command of the

¹ Walton became Governor of Lynn in September 1643. When his son's troop was raised he was a prisoner at Oxford, having been captured at Edgehill.

² Gawsell's account for 1644-5 proves that Walton's troop went to Packer. William Pickering was the cornet of the troop in 1644. Walton's troop is mentioned in the accounts for January 1644.

³ Colonel Eyres was arrested in November 1647 for inciting the soldiers to mutiny at the rendezvous at Corkbush Field. Rushworth, vii. 875. He was imprisoned again in 1649 for complicity in the mutiny which was suppressed at Burford. *The Moderate*, August 7-14, 1649. In January 1655 he was a third time under arrest as an accomplice in Wildman's plot. Thurloe, iii. 124, 126, 146. In January 1660 the restored Long Parliament gave him command of the regiment, late Major-General Lambert's. *Commons' Journals*, vii. 815, 817, 818, 828. See also *Clarke Papers*, ii. 57.

⁴ On August 12, 1644, William Newman was paid 12/- as lieutenant of the troop formerly commanded by Captain Ayres, but now by Captain Berry. On Newman see *Clarke Papers*, ii. 276; *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 249; *Somers Tracts*, vii. 532, ed. Scott.

troop until 1647, when he became major of Colonel Twisleton's regiment, and obtained the command of a regiment himself in 1651. Subsequently he became one of Cromwell's major-generals, and his life is to be found in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

7. The seventh troop was Captain Patterson's. It was raised before the end of 1643, as a bill for its quarters during January 1644 proves.¹ Captain Robert Patterson² left the regiment about the spring of 1644, and was succeeded in command of the troop by Captain Robert Horsman.³ Horsman had been governor of the garrison established at Rockingham Castle, but, quarrelling violently with the Rutlandshire Committee, and being complained of by them to Parliament, he resigned or was forced to resign.⁴ His troop is mentioned as quartered in Huntingdonshire in April 1644. Horsman left the regiment when it was incorporated in the New Model.

8. The eighth troop was that of Captain John Grove. It is mentioned in the accounts for January 1644, and throughout the year. John Grove continued to command it until the regiment was incorporated in the New Model. He became major of Colonel Francis Hacker's regiment about 1652, and continued in the army until the Restoration. Grove was an exile on the Continent in 1666.⁵

9. The ninth troop was Captain Samuel Porter's. It was

¹ On October 14, 1643, Lieutenant Russell was paid 14*l.* 16*s.* for the completing of forty horses and saddles for Captain Patterson's troop. This was evidently the balance of an account of which the rest had been paid earlier, so that the troop must have been raised in the summer, or at latest the autumn of 1643.

² In the bill for quartering Patterson's troop at Ripton Abbotts in January 1644, he signs 'Ro. Patterson,' and on April 1644 Robert Gethings was paid as cornet to Captain Robert Patterson's troop. There was also a Captain William Patterson of Norfolk in the army of the Eastern Association, commanding a troop of horse. It was doubtless this Captain William Patterson who is mentioned as an opponent of Cromwell's.—*Manchester's Quarrel with Cromwell*, p. 60.

³ Horsman's lieutenant in 1644 was Francis Lambe.

⁴ See *Tanner MSS.*, lxii. 610.

⁵ *Ludlow Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 393, 490.

raised in 1643, during the summer or early in the autumn.¹ Captain Porter continued with the regiment up to the time of its incorporation in the New Model, and then seems to have left the army. In 1650 he took service again, and was a captain in Ireton's regiment of horse in Ireland.

10. The tenth troop was that of Captain Adam Lawrence, and was raised by the autumn of 1643.² Lawrence was a friend of Richard Baxter's, and when Baxter became chaplain to Whalley's regiment, in the summer of 1645, he found Lawrence the only orthodox officer in the regiment.³ Lawrence commanded the troop when the regiment was incorporated in the New Model, and was killed at the siege of Colchester in 1648.⁴

The cornet of this troop in August 1644 was Edmund Rolfe—once Cromwell's servant—an officer who became notorious in 1648 because he was accused of a plot to kill Charles I. during the King's captivity at Carisbrook.⁵

11. The eleventh troop, Captain Swallow's, is one of special interest. Letter XIII. in Carlyle's 'Cromwell,' dated August 2, 1643, is a letter from Cromwell addressed to a gentleman at a place not named, where the young men and maids had raised 240*l.* to equip a company of foot. Let them turn their proposed foot company, says Cromwell, into a troop of horse, 'which indeed will by God's blessing far more advantage the cause than two or three companies of foot.' It was true that 240*l.* was not enough to buy pistols

¹ An account of monies collected and paid by the constables of the Isle of Ely contains, under September 19, 1643, a payment of 10*l.* to Capt. Sam. Porter, captain in the regiment of Col. Cromwell, towards one month's pay for his troop.

² This is proved *inter alia* by a bill for quartering his troop at Cambridge during the winter. 'Due to the tapster at the Red Lyon for Capt. Lawrence's troopers, as followeth, from October 13 till February 12, 1643, 5*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*' The signature of 'Adam Lawrence' is appended. See also Tangye, *Two Protectors*, p. 101.

³ *Reliquiae Baxterianae.*

⁴ *Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS.*, i. 459.

⁵ 'November 30, 1643, paid to Edmund Rolph, Colonell Cromwell his man, towards his charges, being sent by his colonell in the state service, 2*l.*' Rolfe is mentioned as cornet in August 1644. On the accusation brought against him in 1648 see the old *Parliamentary History*, xvii. 243, 259, 268, 274, 401; xviii. 293; xxii. 354, 357.

and saddles for a troop of horse, but he himself would provide horses to mount the men if they provided arms. 'Pray raise honest godly men,' he concludes, 'and I will have them of my regiment. As for your officers, I leave it as God shall or hath directed to choose.'¹

Norwich, as the comments of a Royalist newspaper show, was the town in question, and its young men and maidens did as Cromwell requested.² A troop of horse was raised, and Captain Robert Swallow became its commander, with Joseph Sabberton as his lieutenant, two officers who continued to serve in the army right up to the Restoration.³ In December 1643 the troop was in the field, doing good service in Lincolnshire. A newspaper says 'Captain Swallow, the captain of the Maiden troop raised by the maidens of Norwich, hath lately done some service, and surprised some of the enemies horse which were formerly of the garrison at Gainsborough'.⁴

In 1644, or earlier, the men being men of the kind Cromwell had desired, the troop was incorporated in Cromwell's regiment, and it is paid as part of it throughout that year. Swallow became a colonel in 1659, succeeding Whalley when the latter was turned out by the restored Long Parliament, on account of his connection with the Cromwell family.

12. The twelfth troop added to the regiment was that of Captain Christopher Bethell.⁵ The bills for horses and

¹ In this letter Cromwell evidently calculates the troop of horse as 80 men.

² See *Mercurius Aulicus*, August 3, 1643.

³ Captain Swallow borrowed 18*4.* 17*s.* for the use of his troops from a relative, Richard Swallow. There was also paid on October 18, 1643, by the treasurer of the county of Norfolk, 'To Capt. Ro. Swallow and Mr. Sol. Camby his lieutenant by warrant of the deputy lieutenants at the request of Col. Cromwell.' *Tanner MSS.*, lxvi. 9 G.

⁴ 'Occurrences of Certain Special and Remarkable Passages,' January 5-12, 1644. Another paper, 'Certain Information,' for August 29, 1643, says that on August 23, the 'Virgin Troop,' raised by the maidens of Norwich, went out upon some design, 'a brave company of about 80 men, honest men and good soldiers, their captain one Master Swallow' (quoted by Mason, *History of Norfolk*, p. 292).

⁵ There were two other Bethells in the Parliamentary army, Walter Bethell,

saddles for the troop which occur in the accounts of the Eastern Association for April 1644, show it was raised during the spring of that year.¹ Bethell and his lieutenant, John Pitchford, were great favourers of sectaries, and the ranks of this troop, according to Richard Baxter, were filled with Anabaptists and Levellers of the worst kind.² Both officers continued with the troop till the regiment was incorporated in the New Model, and also after that event took place. Bethell was mortally wounded at the storming of Bristol in 1645;³ Pitchford retired about 1648.

13. The thirteenth troop is also a troop with a history. It was raised in the latter part of 1643, apparently in Suffolk. Its commander was Captain Ralph Margery, whose character and doings form the subject of Letters XVI. and XVIII. in Carlyle's 'Cromwell.' In September or thereabouts Cromwell wrote to the Suffolk Committee urging them to haste in raising their quota of cavalry and to care in choosing their commanders. 'I understand,' he says, 'Mr. Margery hath honest men will follow him; if so be pleased to make use of him; it much concerns your good to have conscientious men. . . . I beseech you give countenance to Mr. Margery. Help him in raising his troop; let him not want your favour in whatsoever is needful for promoting this work.'

The defect of Captain Margery was that he was a man of small estate, and of no position in the county—not a gentleman, it seems to have been said. Cromwell had answered this objection by anticipation in his letter to the Committee:

a major in Col. Horton's regiment in the New Model, and Col. Hugh Bethell, who served under the Fairfaxs in the army of the Northern Association, and assisted Monck in bringing about the Restoration.

¹ John Pitchford as Bethell's lieutenant, and Thoma Watkinson as his quartermaster, attest bills for the purchase of horses in April 1644. In *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1655, pp. 284, 332, a petition of Captain Richard Pechell is calendared which states that he served under Bethell in Cromwell's regiment, and was his executor. Pechell was perhaps Bethell's cornet.

² *Reliquia Baxteriana*, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.* p. 55; Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, pp. 126, 153.

⁴ Margery certainly had. In February 1645 his troop contained 112 men, and was the largest in the regiment.

'I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain, that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentleman, and is nothing else.' A week or two later he had to argue the same point again, and did so equally forcibly: 'It may be it provokes some spirits to see such plain men made captains of horse. It had been well that men of honour and birth had entered into these employments, but why do they not appear? Who would have hindered them? But seeing it was necessary the work must go on better plain men than none; but best to have men patient of wants, faithful and conscientious in their employment. And such I hope these will approve themselves to be.'¹

There were, as we shall see, other complaints against Margery, with respect to the manner in which he proceeded in equipping his troop. The upshot was a general desire in the Suffolk Committee to get rid of him and his troopers, to which Cromwell answered with promptitude: 'If these men be accounted troublesome to the country, I shall be glad you would send them all to me. I'll bid them welcome.' Sent to him they accordingly were, and before the close of 1643, or early in 1644, they were incorporated in his regiment. Margery seems to have given satisfaction as an officer, since he remained in the army till 1653, but he never rose higher than captain.

14. The fourteenth and last troop in the pay list of 1644-5 is that of Major Ireton. This was probably the troop which Ireton had raised in 1642. When the Civil War began, says Mrs. Hutchinson, Henry Ireton, being zealous for the cause of the Parliament, and finding the county of Nottingham generally disaffected to it, gathered a troop of those godly people which the Cavaliers drove out, and joined the army under Essex. At the end of 1642 a Parliamentary Committee was established in Nottinghamshire, and began to raise forces. Essex at their request sent Ireton's troop back to defend their own county, and Ireton became major of the regiment of horse raised for Sir Francis Thornhaugh.

¹ Letter xvi, mentions Cornel Boalry as one of Margery's officers.

In July 1643 the three or four troops of horse forming this regiment were drawn off from Nottingham by Sir John Meldrum to assist in raising the siege of Gainsborough. Ireton, and probably Ireton's troop, did not return to Nottingham. 'Major Ireton,' says Mrs. Hutchinson, 'quite left Colonel Thornhaugh's regiment and began an inseparable league with Colonel Cromwell.'¹ On July 28, 1643, Parliament had appointed Cromwell Governor of the Isle of Ely, and about August he appointed Ireton his deputy, and the latter at once established himself at Ely.²

Ireton's troop being part of the garrison of the Isle of Ely, and therefore under Cromwell's command, came naturally to be part of Cromwell's regiment, and served with it in the field throughout 1644.³ It fought at Marston Moor, and about three weeks after that battle Ireton was appointed quartermaster-general in Manchester's army.⁴ He left the regiment at the formation of the New Model, when he was made colonel of a regiment of horse raised in Kent, in place of Sir Michael Livesey.⁵

¹ *Life of Col. Hutchinson*, ed. 1885, i. 168, 199, 232.

² *Manchester's Quarrel with Cromwell*, p. 73; cf. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter xxii.

³ A warrant for the payment of Ireton's troop is amongst the papers of the Ely Committee :

'These are to require you forthwith out [of] the treasure in your hands to pay to Sarj.-Maj. Henry Ireton the summe of sevntyne pounds upon accompt towards the paye of his troope and officers, and also the summe of thirtye pounds to bee by him payd over to Capt. Gervase Lomax upon accompt towards the pay of his foote company and officers : Hereof fayle not at your perill, and this shall bee your warrant.'

'Given under my hand this 3rd daye of October 1643.

'OLIVER CROMWELL.

'To Robert Brown, Deputy Treasurer of Ely.'

The letter is endorsed with a receipt showing that the money was paid on October 6. It is only signed by Cromwell, and apparently was written by Ireton.

⁴ In an account of the pay due to himself for his services in Manchester's army Ireton gives the date of his commission as June 25, 1644.

⁵ It is a question whether there may not have been another troop attached to the regiment. In the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1654 appears a petition presented on behalf of a Major William Poe to the Protector (p. 421). It

The next question to be considered is the question of the numerical strength of the troops whose history has been traced and of the regiment as a whole. At the commencement of the civil war, as has been seen, the ordinary strength of the troop in Essex's army was sixty men. Afterwards it was fixed at eighty. In the Eastern Association the strength of the troop originally seems to have been also fixed at eighty. In Cromwell's letter to the young men and maids of Norwich he says, 'employ your twelve score pounds to buy pistols and saddles, and I will provide four score horses.'¹ A year later, on July 12, 1644, it was declared, by an ordinance for raising additional forces in the Eastern Association and elsewhere, that no troop of horse should consist of less than 100 men.² The order was not rigidly observed, but the troop of horse in the army of the Eastern Association frequently rose to 100 men, inclusive of officers, and the average number of a troop in Cromwell's regiment was over eighty. A muster of eleven troops out of the fourteen taken on February 20, 1645, shows a total of 914 troopers, besides commissioned and non-commissioned officers, so that the whole regiment must have contained over 1,100 troopers.³

recites that by commissions from Cromwell, the Earl of Manchester, and Lord Grey of Wark, William Poe and his brother Anthony served in Cromwell's regiment in the Associated Counties as captain and lieutenant from 21 February 1642-3 to 19 April 1646, and disbursed therein 320*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*, which they pray to be paid. They refer to an order of Parliament of December 10, 1646.

The accounts of the County of Norfolk show that Poe collected 40*l.* in that county during 1643, 'which if it were for the use of his troop the County of Suffolk is to answer that sum out of their treasury' (*Tanner MSS.*, lxii. 348). Poe was ordered to be arrested and his troop disarmed in February 1645 (*Commons' Journals*, iv. 64). It is evident that by that time his troop was not part of Cromwell's regiment, whatever it may have been originally. See also on Poe, *8th Rept. Hist. MSS. Comm.*, ii. 62.

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter xiii.

² Husbands, ii. 526. The strength of the troop of horse in the New Model was fixed at 100 originally.

³ The following is a summary of the strength of 11 troops of Cromwell's regiment on February 20, 1644-5, and the sum paid each troop as a fortnight's pay:

Lieut.-Gen.'s own troop, lieut., cornet, 2 corporals, 81 troopers: paid 16*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*

The officers who are not included in this computation consisted of four commissioned officers for each troop—captain, lieutenant, cornet, and quartermaster; while there were also three corporals and about a couple of trumpeters per troop.

ARMS AND EQUIPMENT

The Ironsides are frequently described as cuirassiers, but that is a mistake.¹ A few cuirassiers were raised at the beginning of the war, but as it went on they were superseded

Capt. Bethell's troop, capt., lieut., cornet, quartermaster, surgeon, 1 trumpet, 1 corporal, 79 troopers : paid 189*l.* 4*s.*

Capt. Lawrence's troop, capt., lieut., cornet, quartermaster, 3 corporals, 2 trumpeters, 95 men : paid 220*l.* 8*s.*

Capt. Margery's troop, lieut., cornet, quartermaster, 2 trumpeters, 3 corporals, 112 troopers : paid 239*l.* 15*s.*

Capt. Swallow's troop, capt., lieut., quartermaster, 3 corporals, 2 trumpeters, 70 troopers : paid, 168*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

Capt. Browne's troop, lieut., cornet, quartermaster, 3 corporals, 2 trumpeters, 88 troopers : paid, 208*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*

Capt. Packer's troop, lieut., cornet, quartermaster, 3 corporals, 1 trumpeter, 80 troopers : paid, 192*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*

Capt. Horseman's troop, lieut., quartermaster, cornet, 2 corporals, 2 trumpeters, 51 troopers : paid, 141*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

Major Desborough's troop, lieut., cornet, quartermaster, 3 corporals, 1 trumpeter, 97 troopers : paid, 203*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*

Lieut.-Col. Whalley's troop, lieut., cornet, quartermaster, 2 corporals, 1 trumpeter, surgeon, marshall, 88 troopers : paid, 214*l.* 13*s.* 0*d.*

Capt. Berry's troop, lieut., cornet, quartermaster, 2 corporals, trumpeter, surgeon, 73 troopers : paid, 180*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*

Three other troops of horse belonging to Manchester's army were mustered with Cromwell's men, viz. those of Capts. Huntington, Hammond, and Sir John Norwich, numbering 67, 62, and 77 troopers respectively.—*Exchequer Papers*.

¹ Heath, in his *Flagellum*, p. 29, describing Marston Moor, speaks of 'Cromwell with his Associated horse, most of them cuirassiers.' Fletcher, in his *Life of Cromwell*, describes him as arming his men, '*cap a pie*, after the manner of the German crabats.' But both used technical terms very loosely. Colonel Ross argues that 'when first raised, Cromwell's own troop was a body of cuirassiers proper,' that the horse of the Association, following this pattern, were most of them of this class of horse, but that when incorporated in the New Model they were transformed into a species of modified cuirassier horsemen, who, offensively armed as cuirassiers, no longer retained the heavy armour of cuirassiers proper' (*Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides*, p. 24). But, as stated above, Cromwell's original troop were not cuirassiers proper, and there is no evidence for this supposed change in the armament of the horse at the formation of the New Model.

by another species of cavalry.¹ Cromwell's original troop consisted of what were technically termed 'harquebusiers,' as the warrant for its payment in December 1642 proves.² Harquebusiers were a lighter kind of cavalry than cuirassiers, wearing defensive armour, but much less of it, and taking their name from the harquebuse or carbine with which they were originally equipped.³ The Ironsides accordingly, like Cromwell's original troop, belonged to the class of harquebusiers.

The defensive arms of a trooper in Cromwell's regiment consisted of an iron head-piece, or 'pot,' and of a 'back and breast,' which was a sort of cuirass. The price of these arms was in all about 30s. In one bill I find 'two harquebusiers armes, backs, breasts, and pots,' charged 2*l.* 4*s.*

In another '20 back, breast, and head pieces lined with leather,' cost 3*s.* each.⁴

The offensive weapons of Cromwell's troopers consisted solely of a sword and a pair of pistols. The cost of the sword is a little difficult to ascertain, because the accounts do not generally distinguish between cavalry and infantry swords.⁵ It may be computed as costing 5*s.* or 6*s.*

¹ The lifeguards of general officers were usually cuirassiers; cf. *Ludlow Memoirs*, i. 44; Haslerig's regiment consisted of cuirassiers (*Clarendon Rebellion*, vii. 104, 118; viii. 13). In the first passage it is said of Haslerig's regiment, 'they were called by the other side the regiment of lobsters, because of their bright iron shells with which they were covered, being perfect cuirassiers, and were the first seen so armed on either side.' Cuirassiers, according to *Brief Instructions for the Exercising of the Cavalry*, by J. B., 1661, were 'neglected in our late English wars,' though 'some few troops of cuirassiers were in use at the first, but afterwards reduced, and the charge saved.' (Quoted by Col. Ross on p. 22 of *Cromwell and the Ironsides*.)

² *Ante*, p. 20, note.

³ On the origin of Harquebusiers, see Sir S. D. Scott, *The British Army*, ii. 267. The mounted harquebusier, according to Cruso's *Military Instructions for the Cavalry*, 1632, 'must have the harquebuse of two foot and a half long (the bore of 17 bullets in the pound), resting in' [hanging on] 'a belt by a swivel, a flask, and touch-box.'

⁴ *Exchequer Papers*.

⁵ On July 19, 1645, 3,100 swords and belts were bought for the New Model at 4*s.* 6*d.* apiece. In 1644 1,000 swords and belts for Manchester's army cost 6*s.* apiece. These were probably in both cases for infantry.

Pistols were a much more expensive item in raising a troop of horse. Two hundred and fifty case of pistols, that is pairs of pistols, bought for Manchester in 1644 cost 38s. apiece, while holsters for the pistols came to 3s. 4d. per pair. On the other hand, in July 1645 80 pairs of pistols for the New Model cost, with holsters included, 26s.¹

In addition to this there was the cost of the saddle and other furniture which completed the horseman's outfit. The saddle alone cost 16s. or more,² so that it cost not less than 5*l.* to equip each of Cromwell's troopers.³ An officer's outfit was naturally much more expensive. In 1642 I find the sum of 280*l.* paid to Captain Thomas Lydcote for the equipment of himself and his officers, which he was instructed to divide in the following proportions—for himself as captain 140*l.*, for his lieutenant 60*l.*, for his cornet 50*l.*, for his quartermaster 30*l.* This sum, however, was meant to include their horses as well as their arms.

It should be noted that Cromwell's troopers carried no firearms except pistols. Though nominally harquebusiers they had no harquebuse, for that weapon had now entirely gone out of use.⁵ Nor was it in their case replaced by the carbine.⁶ Neither in the bills for arms supplied to the troops

¹ *Exchequer Papers*. On January 14, 1643-4, Col. Valentine Walton contracted with three London merchants for armour for 800 harquebusiers, consisting of 'a breastplate (high pistol proof), a backe, and a pott headpeece with three barres,' at 33*s.* per head. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Rep. ii. 66.

² A bill for arms for Manchester's army, dated April 6, 1664, includes 170 saddles and furniture at 20*s.* apiece, and 50 troop saddles with furniture for the New Model on July 2, 1645, cost 16*s. 6d.* apiece (*Exchequer Papers*, 31). On the other hand, in May 1643 the Norfolk Committee paid 20*l.* for 10 great saddles for Captain Wild.

³ A Parliamentary ordinance passed May 10, 1643, authorising Col. James Maleverer to raise a regiment of harquebusiers, estimates the cost of the soldiers' arms at 315*l.* per troop of 63, i.e. at 5*l.* per trooper. Husbands, *Ordinances*, ii. 163.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1641-3, p. 363.

⁵ Markham in his *Souldier's Accidence*, writing in 1643, speaks of 'harquebushes, which are now out of use with us.'

⁶ In the account for arms supplied for the use of Manchester's army, carbines are hardly ever mentioned: and though the Norfolk Committee bought 41 in April 1643, it is evident that the purchase was exceptional. Perhaps a single troop in

composing the regiment nor in the narratives of their services is there any sign that the Ironsides and the cavalry of the Eastern Association in general (excepting, of course, the dragoons) were armed with anything but pistols.¹ And that fact must have exerted an important influence on the tactics adopted by Cromwell as a cavalry leader.

HORSES

Next to the question how Cromwell's regiment was armed comes the question how it was mounted. The cost of mounting a regiment of harquebusiers was estimated in May 1643 to be 10*l.* per head, but that sum doubtless included saddles and other necessaries, and it is probable that Cromwell mounted his regiment for a good deal less.² In the first place a certain proportion of his men provided their own horses. There is evidence that some of the soldiers of the New Model did so, and even later during the Protectorate recruits sometimes brought their horses with them when they enlisted. Much more so was this likely to be the case with volunteers who entered the Parliamentary service at the beginning of the war.

Manchester's army, or an occasional officer, may have had carbines, but they were evidently not in ordinary use. Amongst the English army in Ireland, where cavalry was employed more to perform the functions of dragoons, firelocks, carbines, or musketoons were frequently used.

¹ As to Cromwell's regiment there is an entry in the *Commons' Journals* for October 4, 1644: 'Ordered that 300 pair of pistols with holsters, 100 heads, 100 backs, and 100 breasts be forthwith provided and sent to Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell to arm his regiment.' No mention is made of carbines. As to the Association cavalry in general, see the description given by Symonds in his *Diary* (p. 231) of the armament of the horse encountered in a skirmish at Huntingdon in 1645, who all had 'back and breast, headpiece, and brace of pistols,' but no other firearms are mentioned. Colonel Ross, commenting on this passage, says, 'Defensively, therefore, they carried no more armour than harquebusiers should wear, and yet in offensive arms they lacked the carbine which was a distinguishing feature of that trooper's armament' (*Cromwell and his Ironsides*, p. 24). This is true not only of the particular body of horse referred to by Symonds, but of Cromwell's regiment and Manchester's cavalry in general.

² Husbands, ii. 73; see p. 39, note 3.

But a great number of horses, of course, had to be bought for Cromwell's regiment, as the accounts of the Eastern Association show. The price of a troop horse in a regiment like Cromwell's ran from 5*l.* to 10*l.* In 1644, 49 horses were bought at Huntingdon fair for Cromwell's regiment at an average of a little over 6*l.* apiece.¹ Recruiting Lieutenant-General Cromwell's regiment with 110 horses in July 1644, just after Marston Moor, cost 1,100*l.*, which seems to show either that horses were very scarce just then, or that Cromwell insisted on having the very best that could be got.²

In addition to direct purchase in the market, there were two other ways of mounting a regiment, both extensively practised. One was to rely upon the well affected in the associated counties, who at the invitation of Parliament contributed their horses for the public service, which horses were duly valued by proper officials, and repayment promised the owners, with interest at the rate of eight per cent. on the amount, just as if they had subscribed loans of money. After the first flush of zeal was over this source of supply proved insufficient, and Parliament ordered that if the owners of horses neglected or refused to bring them in the county committees should be empowered to take them at a valuation, giving certificates for future repayment to their owners.³ A third step taken by Parliament was to levy a certain number of horses on a particular district, and order it to provide that number for military use by a certain date, leaving the task of enforcing this requisition to the local committees. On July 25, 1643, for instance, Parliament ordered 6,500 horses to be raised in some fifteen different counties, and delivered to certain colonels named by a given date.⁴ Cambridge and Ely were to find 200 horses, and

¹ *Exchequer Papers.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Husbands, i. 339, 358, 456, 773.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 275. The horse so raised were to be under the command of Manchester, and the ordinance of August 10, appointing him to raise a distinct army, may have superseded this.

Huntingdon 100, while both contingents were to be under the command of Colonel Cromwell.¹ It is uncertain whether this ordinance was generally carried out, but if it was carried out anywhere it must have been in the district in which Cromwell was entrusted with its execution, and having got his authority there can be little doubt that he insisted on getting his 300 horses.

In general, however, horses were procured by a much less elaborate and formal process. The horses of persons opposed to the Parliament were taken with very little ceremony, under colour of 'disarming the malignants,' even before Parliament legalised the system.² Later on, April 1, 1643, Parliament passed its sequestration ordinance, by which the property of delinquents—that is, of persons who had in any way assisted the King in the war—might be seized and used for the maintenance of the Parliamentary forces by committees appointed for the purpose. Cromwell was a member of the committees appointed for the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon. A month later, on April 25, 1643, a special ordinance was passed giving Cromwell, Whalley, and Desborough power to put this sequestration ordinance into

¹ 'And it is also Ordained, that the respective Deputy Lieutenants, Committees, and persons employed by them of the Counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Isle of Ely, doe deliver the Horses of their severall Counties, unto the said Earl of Manchester, or in his absence to Collonell Oliver Cromwell, appointed hereby to command the said Horse under the said Earle of Manchester, and to Train and Exercise them, and to employ them for the defence of the said Counties as cause shall require, until such time as further Order shall be taken by the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament. And it is further Ordained, That the said Earle, or the said Collonel Cromwell, shall give in writing under his hand a perfect List of the number of Horses and Armes hee receives of the severall Counties; for the which Horse and Armes, the severall Counties and persons who furnish the same, shall have the Publique faith for repayment and satisfaction.' *Husbands, Ordinances*, ii. 277.

² Cromwell's letter to Mr. Barnard (Letter iv. in Carlyle's *Cromwell*) refers to this when speaking of sending a party to visit Barnard, and, hinting his suspicions of Barnard's loyalty to the Parliament, he concludes: 'Be assured, fair words from me shall neither deceive you of your *horses* nor of your liberty.' Carlyle prints 'houses,' missing thus the point of the postscript.

execution by seizing the arms, money, and horses of Royalists in the eastern counties.¹

These different ordinances, of April 1, April 25, and July 25, 1643, naturally much reduced the expenditure which the mounting of Cromwell's regiment would otherwise have entailed.

But the drawbacks of the system were very obvious. In the first place, horse stealing on a large scale was somewhat demoralising to the soldiers employed, and sometimes led them to horse stealing on their own account. In the second place, as it was not always easy to determine whether a man was or was not 'a malignant,' the officers employed were involved in frequent disputes. Whalley, for instance, got into trouble with the House of Lords for seizing a horse belonging to the Earl of Carlisle.² The difficulties caused

¹ April 25, 1643.

An Additionall Ordinance for seizing horses and goods of Malignants according to a former Ordinance.

Whereas Authority was formerly given by Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament to Collonel Oliver Crumwell and others for the seizing of the Persons, Horses, Armes, Money and Plate, of Malignants and ill affected persons within the County of Cambridge, the Isle of Ely, and other Counties, Cities, and places in the said Ordinance mentioned. It is now further Ordeyned by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that the said Collonel Crumwell, and other the Committees and Deputy-Lieutenants in the said Ordinance mentioned, as also Captain Charles Fleetwood, Captaine Edward Walley, and Captaine John Disbrough, or any two or more of them, together with any of the said Committees or Deputy-Lieutenants formerly appointed, shall have the like power and authority for the seizing of Horses, Armes, Money or Plate, the same to be disposed of, used and employed to the same uses, as in the said Ordinance is specified, upon accompt thereof to be made to both Houses of Parliament, or such as they shall appoint; And that they and every of them for so doing shall be protected and saved harmlesse by the Power and Authority of both Houses of Parliament. *Husbands, Ordinances*, ii. 44, 155.

² On March 21, 1643, Captain Whalley was called into the House of Lords, 'being sent for to know why he seized the horses of the Earl of Carlisle, and spoke words that his lordship was *malignant*. He said, "Coming to Newmarket, he was told by a constable that the Earl of Carlisle was a malignant, and that he had horses there. Upon this he seized the horses of the Earl of Carlisle, which he acknowledged he was too hasty in, and craved their lordships' pardon for the same, and professed his good affection to the Parliament." The Earl of Carlisle moved the House, that what concerns him their lordships would please to remit; but desired that the constable that told him his lordship was a malignant, may be sent for, and the witnesses that heard him say so. Which the House

are still more clearly shown in the case of Captain Margery. 'If he can raise the horses from malignants,' Cromwell had written to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Suffolk, 'let him have your warrant; it will be of special service.'¹ Then came trouble. 'I hear,' wrote Cromwell, 'there hath been much exception taken to Captain Margery and his officers for taking of horses. I am sorry you should discountenance those who (not to make benefit for themselves, but to serve their country) are willing to venture their lives, and to purchase to themselves the displeasure of bad men, that they may do a public benefit. I undertake not to justify all Captain Margery's actions, but his own conscience knows whether he hath taken the horses of any but malignants, and it were somewhat too hard to put it upon the consciences of your fellow Deputy-Lieutenants, whether they have not freed the horses of known malignants? A fault not less, considering the sad estate of this kingdom, than to take a horse from a known honest man, the offence being against the public, which is a considerable aggravation. I know not the measure everyone takes of malignants. I think it is not fit Captain Margery should be the judge; but if he, in this taking of horses, hath observed the plain character of a malignant, and cannot be charged for one horse otherwise taken,—it had been better that some of the bitterness wherewith he and his have been followed had been spared.'

Cromwell himself was involved in a like difficulty, and the same letter shows how he dealt with the situation:

'I understand there were some exceptions taken at a horse that was sent me, which was seized out of the hands of one Mr. Goldsmith of Wilby. If he be not by you judged a malignant, and that you do not approve of me having of the horse, I shall as willingly return him again as you shall

ordered accordingly. The said Captain Whalley was called in, and told, in regard of his good service done to the Parliament, and upon the mediation of the Earl of Carlisle, this House is willing to pass by what he hath hastily done; but do enjoin him to deliver in the name of the constable and the witnesses to this House.'—*Lords' Journal*, v. 656.

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter xvi.

desire. And therefore I pray you signify your pleasure to me herein under your hands. Not that I would for ten thousand horses have the horse to my own private benefit, saving to make use of him for the public; for I will most gladly return the value of him to the State, if the gentleman stand clear in your judgments. I beg it as a special favour, that if the gentleman be freely willing to let me have him for my money, let him set his own price. I shall very justly return him the money, or if he be unwilling to part with him, but keeps him for his own pleasure, be pleased to send me an answer thereof. I shall instantly return him his horse, and do it with a great deal more satisfaction to myself than keep him.¹

Cromwell, who was throughout his life a great lover of horses, was careful to see that his men were well-mounted, and that their horses were kept in good condition. Cromwell, says a Royalist historian (as if it were something exceptional), 'accustomed them daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses.'² Contemporary pamphlets mention two examples of his solicitude for the horses of his troopers. In October 1643, just before Winceby fight in Lincolnshire, when the Earl of Manchester ordered his officers to prepare to give battle, Cromwell alone amongst them opposed his proposition. 'Colonel Cromwell was in no way satisfied that we should fight, our horse being already wearied with hard duty two or three days together.'³ Again, in November 1644, after the second battle of Newbury, when Charles returned to fetch away his guns from Donnington Castle, the Earl of Manchester, who had previously refused to advance when opportunity offered, ordered Cromwell and the cavalry to check the King's march. Cromwell, who had been eager to advance three days earlier, held it impossible to carry out the plan now. Manchester's chaplain heard Cromwell earnestly dissuading his general. 'My Lord,' he said, 'your horse are so spent, so harassed out by hard duty, that they will fall

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter xviii. ² Bates, *Elenchus*.

* Vicars, *God's Ark*, p. 45.

down under their riders if you thus command them ; you may have their skins, but you can have no service.'¹ At the close of the Newbury campaign in November 1644, the cavalry of the three armies of Manchester, Essex, and Waller was completely worn out by hard service and bad weather. 'Many hundreds of our horses be already dead, and the living very weak,' wrote Manchester, Waller, and Balfour to the Committee of Both Kingdoms. In such cases the dismounted men, if other horses could not be procured, seem to have been sent home. Under January 20, 1645, there is a memorandum amongst the accounts of the Eastern Association that ten men of Swallow's troop, eight of Berry's, and one of Packer's were 'sent homeward for want of horses,' and 'given 25s. apiece on accompt' to enable them to get there. No doubt others were dismissed in the same way. In other cases horses seem to have been taken from farmers, and the sick animals left to replace them.²

PAY AND MAINTENANCE

Having equipped and mounted his men the riddle which Cromwell had to solve was how to pay them. Though the eastern counties had agreed to co-operate for mutual defence, each county remained a separate financial entity, and maintained its own troops. Each county had its distinct collectors, paymasters, and treasury. Not till the establishment of Manchester's army in August 1643, or rather not till

¹ Simeon Ashe, *Relation of Newbury*, 1644, p. 6. I have quoted these passages before in an article on *Cromwell's Views on Sport*, published in *Macmillan's Magazine* for October 1894, but it seems necessary to cite them once more, at the risk of repetition, in order to show Cromwell as a cavalry officer.

² At the Committee for the Association. 'These are to certifie that John Barfoote of Eltisley had a horse taken from him by Captain Jenkins for the service of the King and Parliament, and left with the said John Barfoote two poore horses in his sted, which hee is quietly to enjoy. But if in case that one of the said poore horses doe chance to dye of the disease he is nowe sick on, then wee thinke fitt that 30 shillings of lawfull money shall be paid to the said John Barfoote toward the recompense of his losse.' This is dated March 22, 1644, and signed by Manchester and eight other Committee men. Appended is a certifie that the horse is dead, and that Barfoote was paid his thirty shillings on May 11, 1644 (*Exchequer Papers*, Bundle 223).

January 1644, was a common financial organisation and a central treasury for the payment of all the forces of the Eastern Association finally established. Hence the constant want of money which is the burden of Cromwell's letters during 1643. The respective counties did not even pay their own contingents. Cromwell's seventh letter is an appeal to the Mayor of Colchester to send money to pay Captain Dodsworth's company of Essex foot quartered at Cambridge for the defence of the headquarters of the Association. His eleventh letter is addressed to the same dignitary, begging for money for the payment of the Essex foot and dragoons then with him at Nottingham.¹ Cromwell's own regiment seems to have been originally regarded as a Huntingdonshire regiment, and that county did not even belong to the Eastern Association till May 26, 1643. Consequently, Cromwell was at first obliged to depend exclusively on what he could get from Huntingdonshire, which was the poorest of all the eastern counties. Even after Huntingdonshire had joined the Eastern Association Cromwell still found it very difficult to get the other counties to contribute anything towards the maintenance of his regiment. His seventeenth letter, dated September 11, 1643, is a bitter complaint of this difficulty. 'Of all men I should not trouble you with money matters,' he wrote to his friend Sir John, 'did not the heavy necessities my troops are in press me beyond measure. I am neglected exceedingly. . . . Many of my Lord of Manchester's troops are come to me: very bad and mutinous, not to be confided in—they paid to a week almost: mine noways provided for to support them, except by the poor sequestrations of the county of Huntingdon.'

In its gratitude after the relief of Gainsborough Parliament had ordered on August 4, 1643, that 300*l.* already levied in the Associated Counties and sent to Cambridge should be paid to Colonel Cromwell for the support of his forces.² Most

¹ Cromwell eventually borrowed 100*l.* or 115*l.* at Nottingham for the payment of these Essex men. Bailey, *Annals of Notts*, ii. 682; cf. 7th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm., p. 557.

² *Commons' Journal*, iii. 193.

of this money, however, he never succeeded in getting. Essex sent their part, or near it, Cromwell told the Suffolk Committee, and Suffolk, after some delay, seems to have followed the example of Essex. But the other counties apparently did not. 'If I took pleasure to write to the House in bitterness I have occasion,' wrote Cromwell. 'Of the three thousand allotted to me I cannot get the Norfolk part, nor the Hertfordshire, it was gone before I had it.'¹ Norfolk never seems to have paid this money at all. In November 1643 the Norfolk Committee drew up a statement of the moneys paid by them towards the common purposes of the Association, explaining that they had paid more than their share to Cromwell earlier in the year. 'We have sent him,' said they, 'at two several times the sum of 827*l.*, besides the sums of money he received in this county.'² (The last clause refers to voluntary subscriptions of the well-affected in the county paid to Cromwell by the subscribers when he was in the county). 'There is no reason,' they continue, 'why this county should bear any part of the charges of Colonel Cromwell's eight troops unless they had bin reputed a part of their forces, and [they had] not have bin enjoined to raise their full proportion of horses, which they have done according to the order of the 9 of August, being 500.'³

The defence might be excellent and the logic of the Committee conclusive, but in the meantime Cromwell and

¹ Letter xvii.

² An account appended to this gives the following items as received by Col. Cromwell in Norfolk and from Norfolk Committee :

Colonel Cromwell had of Sir Richard Berney, March 19	.	.	.	48 <i>l.</i>
Colonell Cromwell had of Mr. Heyward, March 25	.	.	.	20 <i>l.</i>
Wee paid Colonell Cromwell at Boston	.	.	.	500 <i>l.</i>
Colonel Cromwell received of Mr. Roger Castle, March 19	.	.	.	50 <i>l.</i>
Paid more to Col. Cromwell by Coll. Pagrave (<i>Tanner MSS.</i> , lxii. 348)	.	.	.	50 <i>l.</i>

In another account (*Tanner MSS.*, lxvi. 1) the Committee mention a further payment made to Cromwell later, making a total of 1,068*l.*

1643, May 22, to Col. Cromwell whch was sent by Major Sherwood 400*l.*
I cannot explain this discrepancy in the totals.

* *Tanner MSS.*, lxii. 349.

his regiment were *in extremis*. 'I have minded your service,' concludes Cromwell's letter to St. John, 'to forgetfulness of my own and soldiers' necessities. I desire not to seek myself. I have little money of my own to help my soldiers. My estate is little. I tell you the business of Ireland and England hath had of me in money between 1,100 and 1,200 pounds,—therefore my private can do little to help the public. You have had my money; I hope in God I desire to venture my skin. So do mine. Lay weight upon their patience, but break it not. Think of that which may be a real help. I believe five thousand is due. If you lay aside the thought of me and my letter I expect no help.'

Happily the response to his appeal was not long delayed. Already, on August 10, 1643, in appointing a general committee for the government of the Associated Counties, Parliament had ordered 'That all forces raised before this ordinance in the Associated Counties shall be paid their arrears, if any be unpaid, by money raised out of the Associated Counties and the City of Norwich according to their proportions.' Furthermore, in the ordinance of September 20, 1643, adding Lincolnshire to the other six counties, a general tax of 5,660*l.* per week was ordered to be levied for the maintenance of Manchester's army. It contained, moreover, a special provision for Cromwell's forces mentioned by name:

'And whereas Colonell Cromwell hath ten Troopes of Horse already Armed, which were heretofore raysed in the said Associated Counties, It is Ordained that all the now Associated Counties shall discharge their pay till this time, and so long as the said Troopes shall be thought fit to be continued together as one intyre Regiment, they shall be payd equally by all the said Counties. And for as much as the preservation of the Isle of Ely, Holland, and Marshland, in respect of the Avynewes and passages leading to them, doth mutually depend each of them upon the other, and that Colonell Cromwell is already appointed Governoour of the Isle of Ely; but no speciall Provision is yet made for the parts

¹ Husbands, *Ordinances*, ii. 285.

of Holland and Marshland, the same is hereby recommended to the Earle of Manchester, who by vertue of this Ordinance is authorized to place such Governour or Governours in Holland or Marshland aforesaid (with the approbation of the Lord Generall) with such directions for the mutuall preservation of them and the Isle of Ely, as in his judgement he shall conceive to bee most effectuall for their joyst preservation.'

From this date, therefore, Cromwell's difficulties about the payment of his regiment were practically at an end. They were as well paid as the rest of the forces of the Eastern Association, and if their pay fell into arrears, it was no more than happened to the rest of Manchester's army. They were not the only ones to suffer, and as a matter of fact they were paid, all things considered, with tolerable regularity.

Turn now to the subject of the pay received by individual officers and men. An ordinary trooper was paid 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem, a corporal or a trumpeter 3*s.* From this sum, however, the trooper was expected to defray the cost of his clothes, his food, and his lodgings, and to find shoes and provender for his horse. The general method of payment for quarters was that the commander of the troop gave the man at whose house the trooper was quartered a certificate, or 'ticket' as it was called, for the amount owing, and the recipient obtained payment of the sum due from the treasurer of the Association at Cambridge.¹ The same process was followed in paying

¹ There are hundreds of bills for quarters and provisions in existence, but the following petition illustrates the subject discussed and is of more personal interest:

'Petition of Robert Coulson of Sleaford, co. Lincoln, to Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'At your worships last coming against Lincoln, Major Moore, Captain Bury, Captain Swallow, Captain Walton, and others, with their troops, were quartered in and about Sleaford, and 14 waggon loads of petitioners hay were eaten up by the horses. Your worship gave order that the hay should be prized and paid for, and accordingly it was valued at 7*s.*, yet petitioner is ordered to pay 7*s.* to the [County] Committee.'

Endorsed.—'The within mentioned 7*s.* to be charged on Colonel Cromwell's troop.'

Cal. 1625-49, Addenda, p. 689.

for the forage required for the trooper's horse. The money thus expended on behalf of a troop or regiment, was finally deducted by the paymaster from the pay due to the said troop or regiment, and the soldier got the remainder, or rather was entitled to get it. With such a complicated system of accounts, it took naturally months or years to work out exactly the sum due to any particular soldier or officer. The general practice in consequence was to pay the regiment a fortnight's full pay from time to time, so that the soldiers and officers might have some ready money in hand for their daily needs, and to charge the cost of their quarters and other expenses against the arrears due to them. When the accounts of the regiment were finally made up, or when the soldier was discharged, he obtained a certificate entitling him to the balance of pay due after the deductions referred to had been paid.

In the general want of ready money to pay the soldiers and enable them to pay for their lodging and food, the practice of free quarter received official sanction. On August 4, 1643, the House of Commons ordered 'that Colonel Cromwell shall have the like order for free quarter upon his march that the Lord General hath.'¹ Free quarter, however, was rather a misnomer. It did not mean that the quarters and food taken were not eventually to be paid for. They were paid for by the ticket system already mentioned, and by an ordinance dated January 20, 1644, it was enacted : 'That if any of the Associated Forces have taken or shall take free quarter within the said Association, every officer is then to have but one third part of the present pay due to him by this ordinance for so long a time as he or they have had or shall have free quarter. And every common foot soldier but half-pay, and every common horseman or trooper 14 pence a day, and the residue of their pay is to be reserved for payment of their quarters.'² The cost of a day's quartering for one of Cromwell's troopers and his horse was therefore estimated to be 1*s. 4d.*

¹ *Commons' Journals*, iii. 193.

² *Husbands, Ordinances*, ii. 414.

Commissioned officers were paid on a somewhat similar system. The captain of a troop of horse got 1*l.* 19*s.* a day, a lieutenant of horse 18*s. 6d.*, a cornet 13*s. 6d.*, and a quartermaster 9*s.* The pay of higher officers was calculated on a much more complicated system. A major or a colonel received pay as captain of a troop of horse, and a certain additional sum as major or colonel. The major, for instance, besides his 1*l.* 19*s.* a day as captain, received 12*s.* a day as major; while a colonel, in addition to his 1*l.* 19*s.* as captain, got 1*l.* 10*s.* as colonel of horse. A major-general or lieutenant-general had 2*l.* additional or more. Besides this the higher officers had allowances given them for extra horses, two, four, or six in number according to rank, to the amount of 2*s. 6d.* per diem for each.

On paper, therefore, the officers were liberally and even extravagantly paid, but as a matter of fact, they did not generally get anything like their full pay. By 1644 Parliament had adopted the plan of putting all the higher officers on half-pay during the war, and promising to pay the other half after the war was ended. This system of payment by results relieved the Treasury for the moment, but it had great disadvantages, political and other, in the long run.

The system of deferred payment was applied to Manchester's army by an ordinance passed on January 20, 1644. Henceforth every officer in it above the rank of captain was to get only half his pay in cash, and to respite the other half on the public faith till the war ended. For this second half he received a 'debenture' stating the sum owing to him, a practice which had been adopted still earlier during the war, but was now made general. An account for pay due to Cromwell at the end of 1644 illustrates these various points.¹ It states that there was due to him on a debenture for services prior to January 1, 1644, the sum of 528*l.* For his services during the year 1644 a further debenture for 1,626*l. 9s.* was now owing, which would make up a total of 2,154*l. 9s.* to be paid him when the war ended. As to

¹ *Exchequer Papers.*

the half pay for his services during 1644 which he was entitled to receive in cash, he had received 1,455*l.* out of the 1,626*l.* 9*s.* which was due.

The separate items of Cromwell's pay are set forth in an account drawn up by him for the year 1644.

There was owing to him :

From the 22th of January to the 23th of December, 1644, being 48 weekes half pay att 5 <i>s.</i> per diem as Lieutenant Generall of horse and foote .	<i>£</i> 840 or.
For the same tyme as Colonell and Captain of horse, with allowance for 6 horses at 42 <i>s.</i> half pay per diem	<i>£</i> 705 12 <i>s.</i>

Making a total of 1,545*l.* 12*s.*

Before being appointed lieutenant-general he had been major-general, and there was due to him from January 1, 1643, to the 22nd of the same, being three weeks' half-pay at 1*l.* 15*s.* per diem as major-general of horse and foot, 36*l.* 15*s.*

A note explains that of this 1*l.* 15*s.*, 1*l.* represented half-pay for the foot, and 15*s.* half-pay for the horse. To this was to be added his half-pay as colonel and captain of horse for the same three weeks, which at 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem came to 44*l.* 2*s.* Thus the total due for his services in these fifty-one weeks amounted to 1,626*l.* 9*s.*, towards which he had received 1,335*l.* 1*s.*, leaving a balance due to him of 291*l.* 8*s.* He received on account at the time this was delivered 120*l.*

MEDICAL ORGANISATION

After the question of the payment and maintenance of Cromwell's troops, another question of interest is the treatment of the sick and wounded. Each regiment of horse had its surgeon, and two assistants termed his mates. The surgeon received 4*s.* a day (just half the pay of the chaplain) and the two mates 2*s.* 6*d.* a day each, the pay of a trooper. The surgeon of Cromwell's regiment was Thomas Fothergill.

Besides the regimental surgeon outsiders were frequently employed, who were paid by the job, as the following warrant, signed by the committee of the Eastern Association, shows : 'Whereas William Reynolds hath spent eight weeks in curing Matthew Gibson of Captain Lawrence his troop, we

are content to allow the said William Reynolds the sum of 3*l.* in recompense of his cure.' Dated January 9, 1644.¹

There seem to have been no general hospitals, and soldiers who were seriously ill or severely wounded were generally left behind at their quarters. Amongst the State papers there is a note from Cromwell to some local magistrate, dated October 5, 1644, saying, 'Sir, I would desire you to let these sick soldiers have convenient quarter in your town until they be recovered of their sickness.' Appended is a note that 1*l.* 12*s.* was paid for quartering these men.² Another piece of evidence of the same kind is a bill running as follows :

'Due to Clifford Weedon at the Angell in Cambridge for quartering of Will. Cleaton under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell, being very sick, for his diet, horse meat, and looking to him, the 21 of Jan. 1644 to the 6 of Feb., being sixteen days, one pound three shillings.'³ Soldiers left behind in this way were often ordered a fortnight's pay to maintain themselves till cured, but as their pay was usually much in arrear, a man who was long ill found himself often in great distress. On behalf of one such soldier, belonging to his own troop, Cromwell wrote the following letter :

Gentlemen,—This soldier of mine (Mr. Frane) is a man whoe on my knowledge hath very faythfully served you, his arreeres are great, his sicknesse much and longe, by occasion whereof hee is brought to great lownesse, and is much indebted. If now upon my recommendation of his person and condition unto you, you will please to help him with some competent summ of monie to discharge his debt, and relieve himselfe, I shall take it for a great favor, and bee ready to repay such a respect with a thankfull [acknow]legment and ever [be]

Your real and faythfull [servant],

OLIVER CROMWELL.⁴

Jan. 21, 1644[4], London.

This is endorsed with the note ('pd 25 January'), and a warrant, dated January 24, describes the recipient as 'George

¹ *Exchequer Papers.*

² *Cal. State Papers, Dom., Addenda, 1625-1649*, p. 667.

³ *Exchequer Papers.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Frane trooper in Lieutenant General Cromwells owne troope,' and orders the 5*l.* to be charged 'upon the Lieutenant Generall's accompt.'¹

RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION

As to the religious organisation of the regiment, each regiment in Manchester's army, whether horse or foot, had its chaplain whose pay was 8*s.* a day. The colonel of the regiment seems to have had the choice of the minister, and according to his taste chose Presbyterian or Independent as he thought fit. Cromwell and his officers offered the chaplaincy of the regiment originally to Richard Baxter. 'When he lay at Cambridge,' says Baxter, 'with that famous troop which he began his army with, his officers purposed to make their troop a gathered church, and they all subscribed an invitation to me to be their pastor.' Baxter attributed this invitation specially to his old friend James Berry, Cromwell's Captain-Lieutenant. But Baxter disapproved of Congregationalism, and so, he continues, 'I sent them a denial reprobating their attempt, and told them wherein my judgment was against the lawfulness and convenience of their way, and so I heard no more from them. And afterwards meeting Cromwell at Leicester he expostulated with me for denying them. These very men that invited me to be their pastor, were the men that afterwards headed much of the army and some of them were the forwardest in all our changes; which made me wish I had gone among them however it had been interpreted; for then all the fire was in one spark.'²

Who became chaplain of Cromwell's regiment when

¹ The following account shows the cost of burying those of the wounded who did not recover :—

'Money expended by Anthony Solomon, a trooper in Lieut.-Generall Cromwell his troope, by him expended and ordered to be audited by the Committee :

'For the burying of William Molbert 17*s.*

'For the burying of William Hill 1*l.*

both of Lieut.-Generall Cromwell's owne troope.'

² *Reliquiae Baxterianæ*, pp. 51, 57.

Baxter refused is uncertain. The names of the chaplains of several of Manchester's regiments are known, but the name of that of Cromwell's does not appear in the accounts, which are unfortunately very imperfect. It is possible that it was William Sedgwick, on behalf of whom, together with another minister, Cromwell wrote in January 1645 a pressing appeal to the Sequestrators of the Isle of Ely.¹ But there are reasons for believing that Sedgwick was more probably chaplain to the Governor of Ely.² In any case, whoever the chaplain was, a good deal of preaching and exhorting was conducted by the soldiers themselves. John Lilburne mentions in one of his pamphlets that about October 1643, Colonel King, the governor of Lincoln, 'imprisoned divers of his officers, and divers of the townspeople, and some of Lieut. Gen. Cromwell's troopers for assembling together at a private meeting, in a most despitefull and disgracefull manner.' The result of this was a quarrel, which Lilburne, who was King's Major, had to appease. 'I rid to Sleaford,' says he, 'to Lieut. Gen. Cromwell, with whom and his officers and soldiers I used the best of my interest to make peace, which I accordingly did, though divers of the soldiers in Lieut. Gen. Cromwell's regiment were so exasperated that they were resolved either

¹ 'Gentlemen,—If I have found any respect or favour from you, or may any wayes seeme to deserve any, I intreat you most earnestly and as for myselfe, that you will pay to Doctor Wells, and to Mr. William Sedgwick the money which the Earle of Manchester hath given them a warrant to receive. I am inform'd that moneys are not very plentifulfull with you. Howbeit I intreat you to doe that for my sake, and for their sakes that should have it. For let me speake freely, whatsover the world may iudge they doe fully deserve what I desire for them. I have not been often troublesome to you, I have studayd to deserve the good opinion of honest men, amongst which number, As I have cause to account you, Soe I hope I have the like esteeme with you, which I desire you to testify by fulfilling this my request, giveing you the assurance of his unfained friendship, who is,

'Yo^r very loveing freind,

² OLIVER CROMWELL.

¹ London, Jan. 17th, 1644.

² Dorso.—To the Sequestrators of the Isle of Ely, these?—*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I., vol. 539, No. 256.*

² *Lilburne's Innocency and Truth Justified, 1645*, p. 40.

to lay down their arms or to get him punished for abusing them.' In spite, however, of this propensity for attending conventicles, and of all that Baxter and other Presbyterians say against Cromwell's troopers, it must not be supposed that all, or even the majority of them, belonged to the extremer sects of Independents. 'They are no Anabaptists but honest sober Christians,' says Cromwell of his regiment in general.¹ There were, of course, Anabaptists amongst them, and some of the officers who held those views can be named. For instance, William Packer. 'In the spring of 1644,' says Major-General Crawford, 'one lieutenant Packer, a notorious Anabaptist, disobeyed Major-General Crawford's orders near Bedford, whereupon the head of the army gave the said Packer a sore check, and put him in arrest.'² It is probable that Packer's offence was of a religious rather than a military nature, for the narrator goes on to say that 'the said Packer complained to the said Cromwell, who upon my return to Cambridge sent Lieutenant-Colonel Rich to signify unto me that I did exceeding ill in checking such a man, which was not well taken, he being a godly man.' Letter XX. in Carlyle's '*Cromwell*', which is addressed to Crawford, is taken by Carlyle to refer to this incident, but wrongly. It refers to Crawford's lieutenant-colonel, as Cromwell expressly states, an officer whose name was Warner.³ Moreover, Packer was at this time only a lieutenant, and never at any period in his life held the rank of lieutenant-colonel. It refers to him only so far as Cromwell's defence of the employment of Anabaptists in general may be supposed to allude to his case as well as Warner's.

DISCIPLINE

In conclusion, a few words must be added on the discipline of Cromwell's regiment. Just as the army of the Eastern Association as a whole had its provost marshal and his assistants, so each particular regiment of horse or foot had

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter xvii.

² *Manchester's Quarrel with Cromwell*, p. 59.

³ His name is given in the accounts for 1644.

its marshal, who was specially charged with disciplinary punishments. The concurrent testimony of contemporary writers and the absence of complaints prove the excellence of the discipline Cromwell maintained in his regiment, but not much information can be gathered about it so far as the years 1643-45 are concerned. A newspaper called 'Special Passages' describes Colonel Cromwell in April 1643 as being then at Huntingdon with some five troops, and adds: 'The Colonell exercises strict discipline, for when two troopers would have escapt, he sent for them back, caused them to be whipt at the market place in Huntingdon, and being before dismounted and disarmed, he turned them off as renegadoes.'¹ Next month the same paper contains the familiar account of the discipline Cromwell maintained not only in his own regiment but amongst all forces temporarily under his command: 'No man swears but he pays his twelve pence; if he be drunk he is set in the stocks or worse; if one calls the other "Roundhead" he is cashiered; insomuch that the countries where they come leap for joy of them, and come in and join with them.'²

An incident which took place in the spring of 1645 supplies some curious illustrations of the temper and state of discipline of the regiment. On January 15, 1645, the House of Commons determined that 6,000 horse and foot should be sent into the West under Waller. As his own diminished army was not sufficient for the purpose it was to be supplemented by detachments from the armies of Essex and Manchester. On February 12 the order was again repeated, for Weymouth was in urgent need of relief.³ Waller's delay in setting out was caused by want of money, by the general disorganisation of the Parliamentary forces at the moment, and by the reluctance of the forces to start till they were paid and recruited. Essex's cavalry shared the antipathy

¹ Quoted in Kingston's *Civil War in East Anglia*, p. 110.

² Quoted in *Cromwelliana*, p. 5.

³ *Commons' Journals*, iv. 20, 46. See also Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, ii. 128, 178.

which existed between their commander and Waller, and refused to march, saying that 'they would rather go under any commander the Lord-General should appoint without money, than with Sir William Waller with all the money in England.'¹ Manchester's cavalry, which included eleven troops of Cromwell's regiment under Whalley, showed a better spirit, and the newspapers were loud in their praise. At a conference between the two Houses at the end of January letters were read from the army 'of the mutinous and disobedient carriage of the soldiers refusing to march into the west to relieve poor Weymouth in great distress.' At the same time, however, 'the letters did further certify, that at the muster no men appeared so full in number, well armed, nor more civil in their carriage, nor less complaint of than Col. Cromwell's horse.'² Another paper was still more enthusiastic :

This day there came Letters from the Commissioners of our Army, which certifie of the state thereof, thus : &c.

That they have received divers complaints against some of our Officers of Horse, wherein was reckoned up, such and such horse to plunder, and among the country-people, others to mutinie at the motion of going with Sir William Waller, in his advance for the West, others complaining that they wanted saddles, and other things, as pistolls, and the like, and for Col. Cromwell's souldiers, it was informed, that in what posture soever they were, that (were it at midnight) they were alwaies ready to obey any Ordinance of Parliament, and that there was none of them knowne to do the least wrong by plunder, or any abuse to any country-people where they came, but were very orderly, and paid onely for what they had, and were ready to advance with Sir William Waller. Now let us consider, and lay these things to heart, for (as a person of note then said) these are the men (meaning the Independents, as we call them) that the other day many would have had to have been turned out of the Army, you see how they submit to authority, and to be obedient, and how orderly they are, and readie to do service for the publicke. And we had more need to fall downe upon our knees to pray them to stay in the Army, then to go about

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1644-5, 278, 291.*

² *Perfect Diurnal, January 30, 1645.*

to put them out ; and truly for my part, I never tooke them for friends that went about to make divisions between us and them in the Army, for however they differ in something in judgement from us, yet we cannot be ignorant that they have been as active for the Parliament both in purse, person, and prayers, as any in the kingdome.¹

Cromwell's men accordingly set out with Waller, but by the time he reached Portsmouth they too began to be mutinous. Parliament had ordered them all a fortnight's pay on February 5, but the money had not been forthcoming, for the Eastern Association was reluctant to provide money when the forces it had raised for its own defence were sent so far from its borders.² On the 22nd, letters came to the Speaker of the Commons from Waller and other commanders relating how the Earl of Manchester's forces did now refuse to go with Sir William Waller westward as well as the Lord-General's, because they had hitherto received no money as was promised, and yet they were ordered to carry with them four days' provision for horse and men, by reason the countries into which they were to go were so wasted that they were like a wilderness, and had no provision for them ; besides all this they were to be recruited and furnished with pistols, which they were in great want of.³ Another letter, dated from Portsmouth on February 22, added 'that 700 of Cromwell's horse, do what their officers could, had left them that afternoon, and were returned with colours to former quarters, pretending they had received great injuries and affronts.'

In this difficulty all the Commons could do was to

¹ E. ²⁷⁰ ₆ p. 131. *Perfect Passages.*

² *Commons' Journals*, iv. 42, 56. The order to pay Cromwell's regiment was repeated on February 20, showing it had not been obeyed. On the same day the money was paid to Captain Berry on behalf of the regiment, but as the payment probably took place at the headquarters of the Association at Cambridge, the news could scarcely have reached either the House or the regiment. See p. 36, *ante*.

³ Whitacre's *Diary*; *Add. MSS.*, 31, 116, f. 195; cf. *Commons' Journals*, iv. 60.

⁴ *Diary of Sir S. D'Ewes*; *Harleian MSS.*, 166, f. 179.

order Cromwell, who was then in London attending to his Parliamentary duties, to accompany Waller, and to reduce his troops to obedience. The order was voted on February 27, 1645, and Cromwell was voted at the same time 1,000*l.*, half for himself and half for his regiment, and was told to take with him Ireton's troop and two other troops of his regiment which were at Henley.¹

The situation was a curious comment on Cromwell's words when he proposed the Self-Denying Ordinance : 'I am not of the mind,' he had told the Commons, 'that the calling of the members to sit in Parliament will break or scatter our armies. I can speak this for my own soldiers, that they look not upon me but upon you, and for you they will fight and live and die in your cause ; and if others be of that mind that they are you need not fear them ; they do not idolise me, but look upon the cause they fight for ; you may lay upon them what commands you please, they will obey your commands in that cause they fight for.'²

It seemed now as if his soldiers had set themselves to give the lie to their colonel's professions, and he had to prove the truth of his statement. Getting together his three troops as quickly as he could Cromwell set out to overtake Waller, and both marched westwards.³ On March 12 they defeated Colonel Long's regiment of Royalists in Wiltshire, capturing over three hundred out of his four hundred men. When Cromwell announced this success, he at the same time was able to announce that his regiment was once more as obedient as he had promised. 'A letter came this day to the House of Commons,' says the 'Perfect Diurnal' for March 19, 'from Colonel Cromwell, a worthy and valiant member thereof, and one of the Saviours (as God

¹ *Commons' Journals*, iv. 63; cf. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1644-5, pp. 323, 331.

² 'Perfect Occurrences,' December 9, 1644, reprinted in *Cromwelliana*, p. 12.

³ It is difficult to see how Cromwell could have been much quicker, seeing that his three troops had to be got together, and preparations made for the expedition, but the Committee of Both Kingdoms and the House of Commons alike thought he was unnecessarily slow.—*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1644-5, p. 334; *Commons' Journals*, iv. 67.

hath miraculously manifested him to be) of this Israel, informing the House that since his coming to his regiment, the carriage of it hath been very obedient and respectful to him, and valiant, a good testimony whereof they gave upon the late service against Long's regiment ; and for their late mutinous carriage to the Parliament they had expressed their hearty sorrow for the same, and had desired him to send their most humble petition to the Houses, that they might be again received into their former favour, and have their pardon fully for their late offence ; and for the quite removing the cloud of jealousy over them, they doubted not to clear it by valiant testimony, as occasion should require. The House, upon reading the same, received much satisfaction, and accepted it affectionately from them.¹

Still more curious is an advertisement which appeared in one of the newspapers about the same time : 'There being many of Lieut.-General Cromwell's regiment who were gone into the country to visit their friends, and could not have timely notice of his going west, by reason of the unexpectedness of that command : it's desired by the colonel that all such will repair to a rendezvous near Barking in Surrey, where they shall have further order by the officers left for that purpose.'²

Six weeks later Cromwell, having returned from the expedition into the West, and successfully effected its object, came back to headquarters at Windsor to resign his command and to take leave of the new general-in-chief. During his absence the Self-Denying Ordinance had been passed, and the New Model Army organised.³ The regiment he had raised was now incorporated into the New Model, and as no regiment in that body was to consist of more than six troops, the fourteen troops were necessarily separated. 'So,' says Baxter, 'Cromwell's old regiment, which had made itself famous for religion and valour, being fourteen troops was divided ; six troops were made the Lord Fairfax's

¹ *Perfect Diurnal*, March 17-24; *Cromwelliana*, p. 13.

² *The Moderate Intelligencer*, 13-20, March 1645.

³ Cf. Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 11, ed. 1854.

regiment; and six troops were Colonel Whalley's regiment; and the other two were in Colonel Rich's and Sir Robert Pye's regiments.¹ A glance at the list of the officers of Fairfax's and Whalley's regiments confirms Baxter's statement.² There are no new names in Fairfax's regiment, and the new troop commanders in Whalley's regiment, Cannon and Evanson, were probably both of them subalterns in those troops when they formed part of Cromwell's regiment.³ Captain Margery and his troop appear in Pye's regiment, and in Rich's appears the name of Captain Ireton, that is, of Captain Thomas Ireton, Henry Ireton's younger brother, who had no doubt been lieutenant of his brother's troop.⁴

Cromwell's connection with his old regiment came to an end in April 1645, but only for a time. He had no command in the New Model Army as it was first organised, but just before Naseby Colonel Vermuyden resigned his commission, thus creating a vacancy in the command of a cavalry regiment which Fairfax at once appointed Cromwell to fill. In June 1650, Fairfax resigned all his commissions, and the six troops of Cromwell's own regiment, which had composed the commander-in-chief's regiment since 1645, returned at last to the command of the man who had originally raised them.

In conclusion I wish to point out that in the foregoing pages I have taken no account of any statements made in the so-called 'Squire Papers.' The 'Squire Papers' are a forgery from beginning to end.⁵ The dates of the letters, when there

¹ *Reliquiae Baxterianæ*, p. 49. In Cromwell's letter to Fairfax, April 24, 1645, in relating his victory near Islip, he says: 'I drew forth your Honour's regiment lately mine own against the enemy . . . and commanded your Honour's own troop therein to charge a squadron of the enemy.'

² Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 331.

³ Henry Cannon and William Evanson. The latter is mentioned by Baxter as one of Cromwell's original regiment, *Reliquiae Baxterianæ*, pp. 51, 98.

⁴ Thomas Ireton was severely wounded at the siege of Bristol, became in 1647 Quartermaster-General, and died governor of Landguard Fort in June 1652.—Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 118, 121; *Clarke Papers*, i. 223; Leslie, *History of Landguard Fort*, p. 92.

⁵ The criticisms of the 'Squire Papers,' published by Dr. Gardiner and Mr. Walter Rye in the *English Historical Review* for 1886, pp. 517, 744, conclusively disprove their authenticity.

are any, are frequently impossible. The military details they contain are flagrantly absurd.¹ Their English is the English of the nineteenth century, clumsily disguised by affected archaisms. The list of officers supposed to have commanded troops in Cromwell's regiment does not agree with the names of its officers as given in the regimental accounts.² The list of names of privates supposed to have belonged to the regiment is purely fantastic and grotesque.³

No officer of any rank bearing the name of Squire appears in any of the existing lists, pay rolls, or accounts relating to Cromwell's regiment. A document recently published by Sir Richard Tangye throws some new light on the history of the Squire imposture.⁴ He possesses a 'Life of Cromwell' containing certain notes written in what experts say is an eighteenth-century hand, concerning 'a certain Capt. H. Squire.' 'This H. Squire,' says one of the notes, 'joined a Stilton troop, 1641, and was cornet, and rode as Lieutenant at Naseby, where he was wounded, and fought all through the Civil War, but gave up when they killed the King,' &c. Amongst these notes is a 'copy of a letter respecting Cromwell's attack upon Lowestoft.' It is addressed :

'For Capt. H. Squire, at his quarters, Oundle.'

'Dear friend,—We have secret and sure hints that a meeting of the malignants takes place at Lowestoft in Co.

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Ross in a pamphlet on *Cromwell and his Iron-sides*, published in 1889, proves this at length. Amongst other things he shows (p. 12) that no such officer as an 'auditor' was attached to any English regiments of the Civil War period : a statement which is fully confirmed by the army accounts.

² This list is 'scrap 2' in Carlyle's appendix on the *Squire Papers*. 'The names of the original Ironside captains, well worth preserving indeed !' adds Carlyle. Of the forty-two names given in the list only eight (or possibly nine) are identical with the names of officers who actually served in Cromwell's regiment. The names of three of these eight were derived from Baxter's account of the regiment, the names of the other five were provided by Cromwell's genuine letters, already printed by Carlyle.

³ 'Scrap 4' in Carlyle's appendix. ⁴ *The Two Protectors*, p. 66.

Suffolk on Tuesday. Now, I want your ayd, so come with all speed on getting this, with your troop and tell no one your route, but lett me see you ere sundown.

'From your friend and commandant,

'O. CROMWELL.'

Sir Richard Tangye justly observes that the notes and letter are evidently a portion of the 'Squire' correspondence dealt with by Carlyle. In this he is quite right, for the volume must have been once in William Squire's possession. He opened his correspondence with Carlyle by sending him a copy of this very letter, on January 29, 1847,¹ but he omitted the address to 'Capt. H. Squire.' Carlyle naturally wanted to know to whom the letter was written. William Squire answered on February 11, 'The letter I sent you is addressed to Capt. Berry,' quoting in confirmation 'an extract relating to that affair' from his ancestor's journal, and also saying 'that letter is copied in my prayer-book from the original verbatim, for the MS. is all in fragments.' In the same letter he described his ancestor, the owner of the notebook and letter, as 'auditor' and afterwards cornet Samuel Squire.²

It is clear that if Sir Richard Tangye's document is genuine, the statements of William Squire to Carlyle were false. But there can be little doubt that the eighteenth-century handwriting in the 'Life of Cromwell' is a forgery of the same kind as the entries purporting to be in a seventeenth-century hand written in a prayer-book of 1627, which Mr. Rye exposed.³ 'Captain H. Squire' of Cromwell's regiment is as mythical a personage as 'Auditor Sam Squire.' He was an earlier version of Sam Squire, just as the letter to 'Capt. H. Squire' was an earlier version of the letter to

¹ *English Historical Review*, 1886, p. 313. There are some variations in the spelling and signature of the two versions.

² *Ibid.* pp. 317, 318. The letter appears in its third state in Carlyle's appendix on the 'Squire Papers' as letter No. xi., with the omission of the suspicious phrase 'in Co. Suffolk.'

³ *Ibid.* 1886, p. 752.

Captain Berry.¹ The value of Sir Richard Tangye's book consists in its revelation of the first stage in the history of this imposture.

I have added in an appendix a few documents relating to this portion of Cromwell's career.

APPENDIX I

FIVE NOTES OF CROMWELL'S, FROM THE 'EXCHEQUER MANUSCRIPTS' IN THE RECORD OFFICE

(1)

Dr. Staines,—I desire you doe me the favor to let the bearer have five pounds of my money for his Captain, Captain Coleman, his want is great and I should be loathe he should be sent away to him empty. You must not fayle me herein.

I rest,

Your very loving father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Jan. 6 [1644].

Addressed apparently to Richard Stane, Treasurer for the Isle of Ely. In the New Model William Coleman was a captain in Fleetwood's regiment of horse.

(II)

Gentlemen, there is a boate framinge for the defence of theise parts, I believe it's of consequence, I therefore desire you to lett the officer that directs the framinge of itt to have twenty markes for the perfectinge of itt and I shall rest,

Your true servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Jan. 10, 1643.

To my very noble freinds the Committees of the Isle of Ely present these.

Lieutenant Thomas Selby was accordingly paid 13*l.* Probably he is to be identified with the Captain Selby, afterwards of Fleetwood's regiment, who was killed at Naseby in 1645.

¹ Berry was not a captain in March 1643, when this letter is supposed to be written.

(iii)

To the Right Honourable Leiftenant Generall Cromwell the Petition of John Disbrowe, showeth

That wheras he was commanded by my Lord of Manchester to conduct a company of prest men out of the Isle of Ely into Lincolne with the promise of satisfaction for the said service which he never could obtaine, he hath since repayed to the Committee of the Isle of Ely for pay for the said service. But they informed him they could pay nothing without expresse order from your Honour May it therefore please you to order the said Committee herein, and your petitioner shall upon all occasions be ready to serve you.

Gentlemen, I desire you to take this petition into consideration, and to doe therein as to your judgments shall seeme meete, and what you please to doe heerein shall content mee.

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

To the Committee for the Isle of Ely.

(iv)

April 11, 1644.

Mr. Browne, what monies you have in hands of the last three months tax I desire you to pay to Leift^{nt} Bolton, to Captaine Wests uses for the payment of his cumpanie, which I now order him to receave upon account. If you have not soe much yett lett him have what is in your hands And for soe doeinge this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand the day and yeare above written.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

(Countersigned by William Marche and Miles Sandys, and addressed to Robert Browne, Deputy-Treasurer for the Isle of Ely). The officers referred to, Lieutenant Roger Bolton and Captain Nicholas West, belonged to a company stationed at the Hermitage, in the Isle of Ely.

(v)

Dr. Stane,—I do hereby require you to pay my wife 5/. a weeke to beare the extraordinary charges. This shall be your warrant. Take her hand in your noates.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

MILES SANDYS.

WILLIAM MARCHE.

April 13, 1644.

[To Richard Stane, Treasurer for the Isle of Ely.]

On this order see the comments of an opponent of Cromwell's, in the Camden Society's volume on Manchester's quarrel with Cromwell, p. 74.

APPENDIX II

PAPERS RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND RELIEF OF GAINSBOROUGH

Sir John Meldrum to the Speaker of the House of Commons¹

Mr. Speaker,—By a resolution taken to disingage my Lord Willowby by the best meanes that could fall within the compasse of my judgment or resolution, there was a bodie of seaventeene hundred troopers, dragooneers, and commaunded musketeers, without ordinaunce or foote, with the which wee marched from our last quarter at North Scarle to within two miles of Gainsborrow, where wee had some skirmish with the forlorne hope of the enimie, but with disadvantage by the unworthy carriage of the dragooneers on our side, which made the officers of the horse to advance with their wholl bodie, and drive them to a shamefull retreat, first to their quarter where they were encamped, and from thence in an absolute rout. Three hundred went towards a bridge where their ordinaunce were, and where my Lord of Newcastle his secourse did passe, and the rest were dispersed severall wayes. In their retreat they lost many colours of horse and foote, amongst the rest the Earle of Kingstone's. Upon this retreat I tooke the opportunitie to passe through to the towne with two hundred horse, which I did for the better incouragement of my Lord Willowby and his soldiers, and for a greater terrour to the enimie seeinge his reeleife, and to drawe forth the foote out of the towne for further prosecution of the victorie, all which succeeded as could have been expected ; and whilst with horse and foote wee had resolved to fall upon their ordinaunce my Lord of Newcastle his secourse did passe the river, drawinge himselfe up in a bodie, and with their ordinaunce did strike such a terrour amongst both horse and foote that it was impossible to keepe them together, notwithstandinge all the vehement purswacions of the cheefe officers, by whose endeavours and example there was an honorable retreate made with as much

¹ *Tanner MSS.*, lxii. 205.

safte as could have been expected on such an occacion. The enimie hath lost divers of their cheefe commaunders, as is reported Lieutenaunt Generall King, Colonel Cavendish, Lieutenaunt Colonel Markham. There is none of note lost on our side.

Upon a consultation taken after the secourse had passed the river, and havige noe ordinaunce, noe foote, noe safe quarter, wee resolved to forsake the place, to leave all the ammunition that could bee spared in the towne, and to withdrawe my Lord Willowby, which could not bee soe quickly done in regard of the enemies sudden mocion. A soldier by a longe and continewed practise in warlike acciones may supply the defect in his profession, but cannot supply the defects of nature, which is to make cowards valient. Soe that to bee shorte our horse carried themselves valiently, but a great part of the dragooneers most basely. If there bee a sudden course taken to advance Sir Miles Hubbard his regiment with that of Sir John Palgraves, which are allreadie soe far upon the way towards us, and that the Committee of Derbie may bee ordered to mount Sir John Gell's regiment of foot on horseback, which if it bee done there is very good hope that all the north parts of England may bee freed from the trouble and terroure of my Lord of Newcastle his armes, and that within a very few dayes : which otherwise cannot but run an extreame great hassard by a victorious armie, there beeinge here soe few of able commaunders. There are many other particulars left to the relacion of Colonel Cromwell, whose carriage hath beene discreet and valient. Soe haveinge noe further for the present to impart to you I shall bee glad of any occacion wherein I may expresse my affeccion and zeale to the publicke cause, and that I am,

Your affectionate freind and servant.

Endorsed

'From Sir John Meldrum : read July ultimo.'

Lord Willoughby of Parham to the Speaker of the House of Lords¹

My Lord,—I knew thire Lordships had soe many searious affaires to take upp thire time as it hath diverted me all this time from troubling them with the trifeling things which hath past heare ; besides my Lord, I have beeene heere but in a mixt way, soe as I have

¹ *Tanner MSS., lxii. 208.*

had nothing to act but my share, and of that I hope I shall be able to give a good account to the House that they will not have cause to blame me for a¹ but that I have ventered to farr having¹ [no commiſſion ; it was out of my zeale to serve the P[arliame]nt and kingdome which I hope will mittigate¹ [their] sensure of mee ; my Lord I have indeavoured what I could of my selfe, for I must confess I hade noe command for it, to suppress and stop the violence of the enimy in this cuntry of Lincolneshir, and had of late the fortune to beate upp one of thire garrisons called Gainsborrow, wheare I tooke my Lord of Kingston thire Generall, and divers others prisoners to the number of 400, many of them of good quallity ; but the strength of the enimy was soe greate by some forces which weare come from my Lord Newcassell which I knew not of, that the same day I tooke it I was besieged before night, and there kept itt some ten dayse before I had any relife, till Sir John Meldrum and Collonell Crumwell came and relived me : but the relife was soe short, as that morning they came my Lord Newcastle with a greate part of his army beate them away, and did new besiege it, he planted 16 pecces of ordeneance and some morter peecess. For all that we stood it out till by his long shooting and his grannadouse he sett fyre to part of the towne, which when the townse people saw they threatened to give upp the towne, and did soe deboye our soulgiers as many of them could not be gott to stand to thire workes, soe as we weare forsed to come to a parly, and to accept of these condisions, which weare verry hard, but we could not healp it, for we had these thrown uppon us, wee had noe vittles, our men would not stand to it, and there was noe hopes given us of any relife within 14 dayse ; wee held out three dayse in that condition. My Lord Newcastle's army is now at Gainsborrow, and will advance to Lincoln, and soe wheather he pleaseth, without some speedy course be taken for his stopp ; for he is heare with 6000 horse and foote, and hath 2000 more upon thire marsh to him. I am heare at Lincoln where Sir Jhon Meldrum is ; the greatest strength that is in the towne is but 100 foote, some 4 broaken troopes of horse, wee want armes for many of these, and they run away verry much for they know²

[Lincolnshire] will be wholly att the enimyes devotion ; as it is soe malignant as I believe he may raise as mennyn men as he hath now with him, if he hath armes for them. I must further acquaint you, and hide nothing to make things better then they are, for that hath beene and is a greate

¹ Hole in MS.

² Illegible through folding of the paper.

ruine, without some speedy assistance by some forces drawing downe these people are soe coued as they will not defend the place ; they must likewise have a supply of mony, for it is not possible this country should raise any, when the enimy is soe powerfull and we soe weake. I must needs say this for this country, that it hath neather receaved mony nor armes from the Parliament since I came into it, and if you expect any service from them, or that you hould it of any consequence, it must be supplyed with both, and that with speed, or else it will be too late. There is noe way to hould it but by sending a speedy forse to assist them. I heald it my duty to write this, which I beseech your Lordship to acquaint the House with. Sir Jhon Meldrum is now heare whoe I believe hath acquainted you with the state of these parts before now ; I could not sooner because I had noe means to doe it, being soe close kept in as I could not send a boy but he was taken. My Lord I have beeene two teadious, I crave your pardon, and remaine,

Your Lordships most humble servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Lincolne, this 1 of August 1643.

APPENDIX III

The Speaker of the House of Commons to Colonel Cromwell¹

Sr,—The house hath taken into consideration your letter : they have commanded mee to send you these enclosed orders, and to lett you know that nothing is more repugnant to the opinion and sence of this house, and dangerous to the kingdome, then the unwillingnesse of their forces to march out of their severall countys : they hope now the miserys of other places will be a warning to this Association, and an encouragement rather to endevour with honour and ease to keepe the enemy out of their confines, then with extreame hasard and danger to expell them, and for those that are negligent herein, they will not fayle to proceed against them with all severity. For your selfe, as they doe exceedingly approve of your faythfull endevours for god and the kingdome, soe they have commanded mee to assure you that noe power they have shall be wanting to improve the good affections of these Associated countys

¹ Tanner MSS., lxii. 224.

to the publick advantage. Wherunto they beseech god to give a blessing.

Your assured loving friend,

[*unsigned*]

Endorsed.

* Read Aug. 4th, and assented unto and ordered to bee sent to Colonel Cromwell.¹

APPENDIX IV

*Lord Willoughby of Parham to the Earl of Essex*¹

May it please your Excellence,

My obligations are soe infinite for the favours I have receaved from your Excellence in the care you have beene pleased to have of mee in this time of my misfortune and distress, that I cannot tell how to goe about to make the expressions of my acknowledgments; fortune hath brought me soe low now by the baseness and cowardlyness of this country, that I cannot say I have any thing in my power to serve you with but my life, which ever was and shall be att your command; a month agoe I could have saide more, but the fortune of warr hath taken it from mee. I receaved your Excellence' letter by the returne of my servant, which direction I was fitt to observe, and noe other, for the garisson was soe weake by the running away of the men, that I did not carry out of towne above two hundred foote. I gott away the litest peecess of ordnance and all the ammunition, the bigest I was forced to leave; for when that it was understood that I would leave the towne, every one did leave me, soe as Sir Jhon Meldrum and my selfe was forsed to hand many things on else they had beene left behind. I was forsed to doe it in the night and suddainely, lest the enimy should gett intelligence, and soe we should loose all, who was not long out of it, for the towne sent immeadiately for him. My Lord I am now at Boston, but I find the people soe out of hart, that without some speedy supply I think they will all give them selves up to the enimy, for they are just as the tide goese, and truly this place Boston is of that importance, that if the enimy gett it he will have the sea by it, and a passage into Norfuck and Suffuck, which will be very dangerouse as the affaires of the Parliament now goese, and if they

¹ *Tanner MSS.*, lxii. 232.

be noe quicker nor resoluter they will not long keepe thire heads upp,
[nor] I believe on. If a force be speedely sent into this country my Lord
Newcassell will be little better for having Lincolne, and except there
be a speedy course taken to atemtp the beating of his army drawne
into this country, he will not easily be beaten; for as I heare our
cuntrymen have agreed to give him 33000^{ll} and to raise 6000
men, Nottinghamshire 11000^{ll} and to raise 2000 men. I shall
indeavour what I can to hould up thire spirritts till [by] the retурne of
this messinger I heare what your Excellence' pleasure is, which I
shall ever obey as,

Your Exellence' most humble and obedient servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Boston, this 6 of August.

THE FALL OF CARDINAL WOLSEY

By JAMES GAIRDNER, LL.D.

Read November 17, 1898.

IT is sufficiently well known to the general reader of history that the cause of Wolsey's fall was his failure to obtain for Henry VIII. a divorce from Katharine of Arragon. Wolsey had certainly done his utmost in that bad cause, however unwillingly he engaged himself to it in the first instance ; for it was a matter of life or death to him to give the king satisfaction. For years the old nobility of England, who were councillors by right of birth and standing, had resented his monopoly of the king's confidence. Several of them were related to Anne Boleyn, and others who were not personally interested backed the king's wishes in the divorce—unpopular as it was in the country generally—as a means of securing the downfall of the Cardinal. Even the Duke of Suffolk, no less an upstart than Wolsey himself, and whom Wolsey had saved at the outset of his career from the vengeance of the other nobles, now most ungratefully turned against him ; and when the Legatine Court was prorogued by Campeggio, gave a great rap on the table and said with haughty mien, ' It was never merry in England whilst we had Cardinals among us.'

This prorogation of the Legatine Court, it was clearly perceived, was an end of the procedure for good. The briefs for revocation of the cause to Rome had not yet been issued, but there was no doubt that would be the next step. Indeed, the breakdown of the case and the fall of the Cardinal had been anticipated for some time. One of the lords, at least,

had been preparing his indictment in advance weeks before the court was prorogued on July 23. A long list of full a hundred articles and memoranda of matters against him in the handwriting of Lord Darcy is dated distinctly at the head ' 1 July, 1529'; and there are several other lists of a similar character, both in Darcy's hand and in that of another person, undated, and some of them equally long. Never were such copious records of long pent-up malice set forth in detail in the hands of arch conspirators.

But though the prorogation of the Legatine Court caused an immediate and manifest diminution of Wolsey's influence, it must not be supposed that the king was desirous, all at once, to get rid of the consummate statesman to whose counsels he had been for so many years indebted. He knew his value too well for that; and but for a malignant influence at his side which now ruled him almost as absolutely as he ruled his people, the Cardinal's fall would not have been so serious. No doubt the king was disappointed—as how should he not have been?—that all his laborious and expensive efforts had been thrown away. In vain had he got a legate from the Court of Rome to come and spend months in England, and at last to open along with Wolsey a judicial tribunal, at which by desperate artifices he had sought to secure the passing of a partial sentence without appeal. Even he had underrated the obstacles which lay in his path. What wonder that Anne Boleyn had underrated them still more?¹ The lady's tone towards the Cardinal, to whom she had at one time expressed the warmest gratitude for his services, was now completely altered. But the king knew very well that Wolsey had only failed because success was impossible. The divorce was a business into which he had been unwillingly dragged; but he had done the utmost that he could in it, well knowing that it would be his ruin at any time not to give the king satisfaction.

¹ Her cousin, Sir Francis Brian, at Rome, had said in repeated letters to the king, that he durst not write the truth of matters there to her. See *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. iv. Nos. 5481, 5519.

From Cardinal Pole's 'Apologia' to the Emperor Charles V., written many years later, we learn that the king was for a time completely satisfied that his further pursuit of a divorce was hopeless. He declared with a sigh, as one who heard him had reported to Pole, that he had endeavoured to procure it in the belief that it would be sanctioned by the Church, but as the Church seemed opposed to it he must give it up. His change of mind upon the subject was a great relief to all about him, for the unknown dangers of a Papal interdict and a possible combination of Christian princes against England had begun to rouse serious apprehensions. But the king had not, according to Pole, remained two days of this mind when an emissary of Satan suggested to him that if he could not obtain the Pope's sanction to the divorce, he was at least supreme in his own realm, and could withdraw it from subjection to the See of Rome, making himself head of the Church in England, after which it would be treason to oppose his will in the matter.¹

This emissary of Satan, as we are informed a little further on, was Thomas Cromwell,² of whom I shall have to speak by-and-by. But I suspect that the period during which the king had really resigned himself to defeat in this matter may have been just a trifle longer than two days, and that Cromwell was not the first counsellor who suggested to him that he might persevere. Cromwell's mode of dealing with the question was put to him a little later, and was certainly not lost sight of. But before him another new man had appeared on the scene, and without a hint of throwing off the Pope's authority had suggested how the matter might still be settled to the king's satisfaction. It was Thomas Cranmer, at this time merely a private tutor, who had removed, with two pupils, from Cambridge, on account of a pestilence there, to the house of their father, a Mr. Cressy of Waltham Abbey. To Waltham came in the beginning of August the king himself, and with him naturally came his secretary, Stephen Gardiner, and his almoner, Edward Foxe, who had both been

¹ *Poli Ep.* i. pp. 116-123.

² *Ibid.* p. 126.

at Rome together the year before on this same business of the divorce, to procure Campeggio's commission. These two were lodged by the harbingers in Mr. Cressy's house, while Cranmer was there also; and Cranmer suggested to them in conversation that without a long suit at Rome the king might easily obtain what he wanted by procuring from a number of universities an opinion that his marriage with Katharine was invalid. Fortified by such authorities he could easily proceed to a second marriage, and, whatever the Pope might say, it would be a *fait accompli*, not convenient to disturb. When this suggestion was reported to the king, he is said to have characteristically remarked, 'That fellow has got the sow by the right ear.'

Now the date of this occurrence, which, though recorded many years after, I take to be a fact,¹ is absolutely fixed by the king's being at Waltham in the beginning of August 1529; so that he must have known Cranmer's advice within a fortnight after the prorogation of the Legatine Court on July 23. But it does not follow that he changed his tone outwardly all at once. That was not his usual way when he meant to change his policy. Near observers, no doubt, must have been persuaded that his hope of obtaining a divorce had revived. But the new policy was not quite so obvious and free from objection that he should show himself sanguine before all the world. And, slight as our evidences are on this point, I am persuaded that he did not. For there is a very significant incident recorded by Sanders, which took place just after this. Sanders, indeed, errs on many points, as might be expected in so late a writer, and quite misinterprets Wolsey's conduct and motives in this matter. But he is so precise and circumstantial about the fact in question that I translate his own account of it to show its significance. After mentioning the departure of Cardinal Campeggio from

¹ Some further details, indeed, are inaccurate or questionable; for the king is said afterwards to have removed to Greenwich, which he did not do (he had just come *from* Greenwich), and to have sent for Cranmer into Nottinghamshire, whither he had gone through Cambridge just after the conversation. See *Foxe*, viii. 6, 7 (Townsend's ed.).

England, and the cabals then forming against Wolsey, he goes on to say :

But Wolsey, who knew nothing of the things that were being contrived against him, went to the king, then staying at a place near St. Albans, and had much conference with him and his Council, touching the trial that was to take place at Rome. Stephen Gardiner, the king's secretary, who had shortly before promoted the divorce cause at Rome, now that he began to suspect the issue of the matter, and saw himself called in suspicion as having been the instigator of the king in that matter, openly appealed to Wolsey to declare before the king and Council in the interests of truth who were the first authors of the project. 'I will never deny,' said Wolsey, 'that it was I alone ; and I am so far from repenting it, that if the thing had not been done before, I should think it right to begin it now.'

These last words of Wolsey's (Sanders adds) everybody knew were meant for the king's ears ; for though he had been really the first cause of the divorce, yet when he saw the king's mind turned to Anne Boleyn (Sanders had previously stated that Wolsey meant to have married the king to the Duchess of Alençon), he was sorry for the advice he had given, from which *he* could not now recede, who had loved the glory of men rather than of God.

Now, with regard to all this, although we may justly dispute Sanders's interpretation of Wolsey's motives, we may very well believe that there is a good deal of truth in the actual fact recorded, and perhaps even that Wolsey confessed to having done what he had not done, in order to exculpate Gardiner ; for assuredly it was not Wolsey, or Gardiner either, that dared to suggest the divorce until he knew that the king was intent on having one. But I must observe that here, as in the Cranmer incident, we have the time and place of the occurrence pretty distinctly marked out. Not that it was, really, quite so late as Campeggio's leaving the realm, nor does Sanders, indeed, expressly say so. But the place being stated to have been near St. Albans, we know positively that it was Tittenhanger, where Wolsey, in fact, received the king, as the State Papers show—Sanders is wrong in saying he went thither to him—about August 14—that is to say, little

more than a week after the Cranmer incident at Waltham. And you will observe that, according to Sanders, the divorce was still in bad odour among the courtiers, and Gardiner felt uncomfortable owing to what he had done to promote it at Rome. He desired Wolsey to clear him of having originated the matter, and Wolsey, to set Gardiner at ease, took the whole responsibility upon himself. It was, indeed, Wolsey's only hope, in the dangers which gathered round him, to keep in favour with the king by brazening the matter out; and there is no doubt that the responsibility of what he said then stuck to him ever after. Yet, perhaps, what he actually said at this time may have been somewhat misinterpreted. He was quite capable, indeed, of taking upon himself the odium of having done what he really did not do, in order to gratify the king, and he may have done this in the present case. But the point seems much more likely to have been this. If Cranmer's plan was really the best way of setting about the business, why had it not been resorted to at the very first? Why all this pestering the Court of Rome for a decretal commission, this long delay in sending for a gouty legate, whose progress to England advertised his purpose throughout Europe, and who had failed to give satisfaction after all? The king might have procured the opinions of universities long ago, before the Court of Rome was fully on its guard, and proceeded to a second marriage without so much obstruction. Who had advised this long and tedious application to Rome? 'Not I,' said Gardiner truly, for he was only an instrument.¹ 'It was I,' said Wolsey, no less truly, 'and I think it was quite right; nay, if it had not been done before, it ought to be done now before you go and seek opinions of universities.' This, I think, would not have been unlike Wolsey's statesmanship, in which he never confessed error, but kept a tangled skein in his hands till he had got it right. And yet it was easy to

¹ Gardiner, however, had a perfect right to feel uncomfortable; for, as Dr. Ehses points out, it was his despatches from Rome that encouraged the king and Anne Boleyn to think the matter feasible, by the very coloured reports he had given of his own success in browbeating the Pope and Cardinals. See *English Historical Review*, vol. xi. 696-7. (Oct. 1896.)

turn such a declaration into a confession that he had advised the king to seek a divorce, and was still anxious to pursue the matter.

Certainly if he confessed that it was he who prompted Henry to seek a divorce, he confessed what was not true. Even Campeggio was well aware, and had said so in his secret letters to Rome, that to Wolsey the whole business was distasteful, but he saw no help for it ; he felt that he must satisfy the king.¹ So, also, it would appear that he now acquiesced in Cranmer's scheme of consulting the universities ; for Du Bellay, writing on August 23 to Montmorency, says that the Cardinal four days previously had asked him to visit him down in the country, as he and the king wished him to go over to France and get the opinions of learned men there upon the divorce question. Wolsey was still consulted by the king in everything, and, as we have seen, Henry had even visited him at Tittenhanger. But it was the last visit he ever paid him, and they communicated together now chiefly through Gardiner, through whom Wolsey's advice was both asked and given, especially about England's part in the three several treaties just concluded at Cambray. But even as to the divorce question itself, apart from the proposed reference to universities (which was, no doubt, for the present a diplomatic secret), and apart from any suggestion of pursuing the matter further, there were still points of importance to be settled for the sake of the king's credit ; and Henry relied mainly upon Wolsey to arrange somehow with the queen for superseding the cause, and to extract a promise from Campeggio that on his return to Rome he would use his influence to prevent the king being publicly cited to appear in the Roman Curia. And this promise Campeggio had no difficulty in giving.² In point of fact the Pope himself seems

¹ Even the Venetian Ambassador, Ludovico Falier, had 'heard on good authority' that Wolsey did not wish the divorce to take place, but he supposed it was only for fear he should lose his influence if Anne Boleyn became queen (*Venetian Calendar*, vol. iv. No. 461). This, no doubt, was Anne Boleyn's own view.

² See *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv. Nos. 5819-21, 5864.

to have been persuaded, notwithstanding the revocation of the cause to Rome, to make some ill-judged concessions to Henry which he could hardly have done if he had known that the king was still intent on getting rid of Katharine, in spite of his inhibition.¹

The king's visit to the Cardinal at Tittenhanger could hardly have been relished by the other councillors who were now continually about him ; but the only means they had of destroying Wolsey's still remaining influence was through Anne Boleyn, who certainly did her best to keep him and the king at a distance. She utterly hated the Cardinal, and got Henry to give orders that he was not to come henceforth within three miles of the Court unless expressly summoned.² But the king himself was seriously inconvenienced by this absence of direct communication, and a letter from Gardiner to Wolsey says that his Highness was extremely perplexed by an intimation at the end of a letter of the Cardinal's that he had some things to show him which it was not advisable to put in writing. What could those things be? And why, when the ways were safe, should there be so much difficulty about showing them? The king was quite at a loss to conceive what was pointed at, and Gardiner was instructed to despatch a special messenger to the Cardinal, desiring him to write a very brief answer to intimate merely the *caput rei*, whether it related to domestic or foreign matters, and if the latter, as regards what Power. If, on the other hand, it was any new means of compassing the divorce, or bore upon any other matter within the realm, the briefest intimation might suffice till Wolsey could come to the king at Woodstock, where he then was.³ Of course, a new device for attaining the divorce would at once have removed all difficulty in the way of his obtaining access again to the royal presence.

He did obtain it, however, once more ; but it was not by any unaided efforts of his own that he was able to procure it.

¹ See *Spanish Calendar*, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 272.

² *Spanish Calendar*, vol. iv. pt. i. pp. 189, 195, 214, 235.

³ *Letters and Papers*, iv. No. 5936. See the original in *State Papers*, . 343.

Campoggio, his colleague, was to take his leave of the king before returning to Rome, and requested that Wolsey might have permission to accompany him. Nor was the request conceded without difficulty. In fact, it was at first refused; but at length it was conceded on condition that both Cardinals would dismiss their ordinary trains and come to the king with only ten or twelve servants each, without crosses borne before them as had been accustomed.¹ On Sunday, September 19, the two came to the king at Grafton in Northamptonshire. They had journeyed thither in company from the Moor in Hertfordshire, which belonged to Wolsey as abbot of St. Albans. But though permission of access had been granted to both of them, Wolsey found, to his astonishment, on his arrival, that while Campoggio and his horses were allowed to pass the gates of the Court, no lodging had been provided for him. In fact, the arrangements had been positively planned by the Duke of Suffolk, so as to make it impossible for him to find a lodging there.² Henry Norris, Groom of the Stole, however, was obliging enough to give up his lodging to the Cardinal, and so the difficulty was got over. Moreover, he had no sooner gone to his chamber than a number of old friends at Court went to see him and to inform him, before he came to the presence, of the things about which the king was dissatisfied with him, so that he was the better able to prepare his defence.³

The scene in the presence chamber was awaited by all with anxiety; for wagers had been laid as to the kind of reception the king would give him, and the result was contrary to general expectation. As Wolsey kneeled before him, Henry took him by the hand just as he did the other Cardinal. Then he raised Wolsey by both arms and caused him to stand up, received him as amiably as he had ever done, and called him aside to a great window, 'where he talked with him and caused him to be covered.' The conversation was deep and earnest, and among points that were

¹ *Spanish Calendar*, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 235.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Cavendish*, 172-3.

overheard was an observation of the king to him : ' How can that be ? Is not that your own hand ? ' With which remark Henry took out of his bosom a letter or writing of some kind, and shewed it to the Cardinal. But the latter, it was seen, made some explanation with which the king was completely satisfied, and he finished by saying to him : ' My lord, get your dinner, and all my lords here will keep you company ; and after dinner I will resort to you again, and then we will commune further with you in this matter.'

The king then went to dine with Anne Boleyn, ' who kept there,' as Cavendish writes, ' an estate more like a queen than a simple maid,' and she could not help showing her displeasure, ' as far as she durst,' at the kindly reception he had given to Wolsey. The conversation which passed between them that day at dinner was reported to Cavendish by one of those who waited at the table, and I give it here in the very words in which it is recorded :—

'Sir,' quoth she, 'is it not a marvellous thing to consider what debt and danger the Cardinal hath brought you in with all your subjects?' 'How so, sweetheart?' quoth the king. 'Forsooth,' quoth she, 'there is not a man within all your realm worth five pounds, but he hath indebted you unto him' (meaning by a loan that the king had but late of his subjects). 'Well, well,' quoth the king, 'as for that, there is in him no blame, for I know that matter better than you or any other.' 'Nay, Sir,' quoth she, 'besides all that, what things hath he wrought within this realm to your great slander and dishonour? There is never a nobleman within this realm that if he had done but half so much as he hath done, but he were well worthy to lose his head. If my lord of Suffolk, my lord my father, or any other noble person within your realm had done much less than he, but they should have lost their heads or this.' 'Why then, I perceive,' quoth the king, 'ye are not the Cardinal's friend?' 'Forsooth, Sir,' then quoth she, 'I have no cause, nor any other that loveth your Grace, if ye consider well his doing.' At this time the waiters had taken up the table, and so they ended their cmmunication.¹

Did ever foolish woman expose herself so completely?

¹ Cavendish, 176-7.

She was actually criticising Cardinal Wolsey's policy to one who was scarcely less a master of statecraft than Wolsey himself. And she was not to be put out by being told that the king knew the matter better than she did, but went on to inveigh against the Cardinal's doings with a bitterness only equalled by her ignorance. Of course she was no wiser than the world in general, who blamed Wolsey for the unpopular loan, though it had been made necessary by a war policy which he, in fact, had endeavoured to dissuade, and though he was the very man who got the king to mitigate his demands. But it is easy to see that she only repeated the cavils which others had instilled into her, and took for certain facts things based upon popular clamour. After this conversation the king again had a consultation with Wolsey, this time perfectly private, without any of the lords of his Council, until it was night.¹ Meanwhile, that he might not occupy Norris's chamber another night, his trusty servant, Cavendish, had sought out a lodging for him within reasonable distance, and had succeeded in securing one 'at a house of Master Empson's, called Easton, three miles from Grafton,' says the narrative. This 'Easton'² has been misprinted 'Euston' in some editions, and the error has unfortunately become common. The place is named Easton Neston, which was, in fact, Mr. Thomas Empson's place in Northamptonshire, a few miles³ north-west of Grafton. And thither the Cardinal went by torchlight that night after his long interview with the king. Long as it was, it was not quite long enough, and the king desired Wolsey to come again in the morning to finish the business that they had left in the middle.

Now it will be easily imagined with what dismay this long and secret conference was regarded by those who had just been speculating on Wolsey's utter disgrace. Their

¹ *Cavendish*, 177.

² The name is written 'Eston' in the MSS.

³ A good deal more than three *statute* miles certainly. A mile in the reckoning of our ancestors was often nearly two of ours.

hopes of gaining the king's unreserved confidence seemed further off than ever, and if, as seems not unlikely, Wolsey had been clearing away misrepresentations which they had been sedulously propagating, they stood in serious danger themselves. Their great support, however, was Anne Boleyn, whose influence they made use of to the utmost, and, of course, having already expressed herself so strongly against the Cardinal, it was natural for her to persevere in the same vein. She was now resolved to take care that there should be no more private consultations ; and when Wolsey, having risen early next morning, rode straight to the court he found the king just on the point of departure, preparing to ride. So instead of continuing their conversation of the previous evening Henry took leave of him, still very graciously, desiring him to communicate with the lords of the Council in his absence, and to return to the Moor with Campeggio, who had already taken his leave.¹

After this Wolsey never saw the king again ; and how his enemies were employed during the next few weeks we are not left altogether to conjecture. Michaelmas term was drawing near, against which the Cardinal as Lord Chancellor must repair to London. A Parliament had been already summoned to meet on November 3, and various were the rumours as to the object for which it was called. Long before it met, however, it was tolerably clear that it would be fatal to Wolsey's influence, and probably even to himself. Wolsey, indeed, as Chancellor, had to issue the writs for it ; but a good number of them, at least, he was instructed to send to the king, in order that they might be distributed by

¹ *Cavendish, 177, 179.* It may be observed that Cavendish's statements are remarkably borne out by a letter of Chapuys to Margaret of Savoy, written on Sept. 27, where he says, 'The Cardinal (Wolsey) has lately been at Court, owing to the influence and exertions of his colleague, Campeggio, and was there treated as I have informed you by my last despatch, although it must be said that the very evening of his departure he was three or four hours debating with the king.' It is unfortunate that we have not the previous letter ; but it is clear that the long interview with the king seemed out of harmony with Wolsey's reception as a whole. Indeed, Chapuys says that both the legates had 'as poor a reception as could possibly be.' (*Spanish Calendar, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 257.*)

the Duke of Norfolk.¹ It was to be, in short, the Duke of Norfolk's Parliament. Anne Boleyn's uncle was to have the management of it, and by him it was to be packed.

But nearly a month before it met one heavy cloud had already burst over Wolsey's head. October 9 was the first day of Michaelmas term, and the Cardinal entered Westminster Hall with his usual train, and took his seat as Chancellor. He had been present at councils in the Star Chamber a few days before, at which, according to Hall, he 'showed himself much more humbler than he was wont to be, and the lords showed themselves more higher and stranger.' But on the 9th, when he opened the term, the Lords of the Council, it is said, had gone to Windsor to show the king how the Cardinal had laid himself open to a *præmunire* by the exercise of his legatine authority—just as if he had done it without the king's consent! Wolsey, however, knew quite well what was coming. Though he had gone with his whole train to Westminster Hall, he was not preceded, as he had been, by the king's servants. A bill of indictment was preferred against him that very day in the King's Bench, and that day, likewise, he had a licence to appoint two attorneys in the process. After that day he sat in Chancery no more. 'Saturday after the month of Michaelmas,' that is to say, October 30, was appointed for his day of trial, and the result was a matter of course. Judgment was given that he should be out of the king's protection and forfeit all his lands and goods to the king.

But between the day of his indictment and his sentence some important things had taken place. First of all, there was the surrender of the Great Seal, which the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk asked him to give up, apparently on Sunday the 17th. That is the day it is said to have been actually surrendered in the record, but I suspect that it was really the day on which Wolsey refused to give it up,² as related by

¹ *Letters and Papers*, No. 5993. Comp. *App.*, No 238.

² Hall says the king sent the two dukes for it 'the seventene day of November,' evidently an error of the month only.

Cavendish, for want of sufficient warrant ; after which the dukes had to go back to Windsor and get proper authority to receive it of him. Du Bellay, writing on the 22nd, says that he gave it up on Tuesday, which would be the 19th ; and this, I think, must be correct, as it was delivered to the king at Windsor on the 20th, and the two dukes would never have thought of keeping it three days in their custody. On the 25th the king delivered it to Sir Thomas More, who became Chancellor in Wolsey's room.

Next, we must take note of a very peculiar transaction, which took place just three days after the date at which, I suppose, he really surrendered the Great Seal. On October 22 he executed what is called an indenture with the king (though it was certainly not a bargain), by which he, in point of fact, confessed the indictment against him eight days before judgment was given, acknowledging that he had incurred a *præmunire*, and deserved perpetual imprisonment at the king's pleasure, with forfeiture of all his lands, offices, and goods. He accordingly prays Henry, in part recompense of his offences, to take into his hands all his temporal possessions, all debts due to him, and all arrears of pensions and presentations to benefices ; of which he covenants to make further assurance when required. The meaning of this is shown by a letter of Du Bellay written on the same day to Montmorency, in which he says that Wolsey had put himself in the king's mercy in the faint hope of staving off a Parliamentary indictment ; for he expected nothing less than perpetual imprisonment, and that neither king nor Parliament would ever revoke the sentence. Five days before, in another letter, Du Bellay had given a melancholy picture of his extreme dejection. He had visited him in his trouble, and found him the most pitiable victim of fortune that could be imagined. Heart and tongue failed him for conversation ; he wept, and his face had lost its old animation. He would have been glad to live in a hermitage without legateship, office, or influence, if only the king would not look upon him with disfavour. But it seemed

as if then the king was swayed entirely by his enemies, and he had no mercy to expect.

The surrender of his property by the indenture seems to have been suggested by a message of the two dukes when he delivered the Great Seal. The king desired him to give up his splendid house at Westminster and retire to Esher, 'taking nothing but only some provision for his house.' He accordingly called the officers of his household before him and ordered them to make a complete inventory¹ of everything, in view of his giving up the property to the king. He then left for Esher², taking his barge at first to Putney, in full view of a vast assembly in boats on the river, who expected to see him wafted to the Tower. After landing at Putney he took his mule and soon met Henry Norris, who had been sent to him by the king with a gold ring for a token and a secret message to tell him to be of good cheer, for he should not lack, and the king was not displeased with him, but only acted as he did to satisfy some persons who unfortunately were not his friends. There was the whole mystery! Henry was harsh to him only to satisfy Anne Boleyn and her circle, whom he durst not oppose outright. Wolsey leaped from his mule like a young man, and 'kneeled down in the dirt with both knees, holding up his hands for joy.' For other details I must refer to Cavendish.³ Wolsey was comforted, though he and his small retinue were three or four weeks at Esher before they had beds, sheets, or table-cloths, and he had to borrow vessels to eat and drink out of.

He was at Esher when judgment was passed upon him

¹ This inventory is No. 6184 in the *Calendar of State Papers*, where it is placed a little too late.

² That he left for Esher about the date of the 'indenture,' October 22, is clear from Chapuys's letter of the 25th, printed (in translation) by Bradford (*Corr. of Charles V.*, p. 291). He was already living at Esher (a place about ten miles from London, Chapuys calls it) on the 25th.

³ Chapuys, as we have just seen, mentions the sending of the ring, but evidently sees no further than other people did, as to the King's object. He thinks it was only that Henry was moved by pity, or by fear, lest the Cardinal should die before the whole extent of his property was known.

in his absence by the Court of King's Bench.¹ He was at Esher when Parliament opened on November 3, and he remained there till long after Parliament had been prorogued ; in fact, till the following Lent. This fact must be taken into consideration in connection with the proceedings of that Parliament. It was opened by the king himself, and Sir Thomas More, standing on his right hand as Chancellor, made, as Hall informs us, an eloquent oration in which he likened the king to a shepherd, and went on to allude to his predecessor in the following very unpleasant language :

And as you see that amongst a great flock of sheep some be rotten and faulty, which the good shepherd sendeth from the good sheep, so the great wether which is of late fallen, as you all know, so craftily, so scabbedly, yea, and so untruly juggled with the King, that all men must needs guess and think that he thought in himself that he had no wit to perceive his crafty doing, or else that he had presumed that the King would not see nor know his fraudulent juggling and attempts. But he was deceived, for his Grace's sight was so quick and penetrable that he saw him, yea, and saw through him, both within and without, so that all thing to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction ; which small punishment the King will not to be an example to other offenders, but clearly declareth that whosoever hereafter shall make like attempt or com mit like offence shall not escape with like punishment.²

It is no wonder that admirers of Sir Thomas More (and who is not one?) are unwilling to admit the authenticity of this speech. Nor, indeed, is there any trace of a passage like this in the brief notice of it given in the Parliamentary record.³ But unfortunately there is an account of the speech not at all unlike it in a despatch of Chapuys to the Emperor, dated November 8.⁴ This does not, indeed, contain the *simile* of the

¹ He is mentioned as having gone thither (the place is certain, though it is not named) in a letter of Du Bellay written on October 27. The fact that his appointment of attorneys is dated Westminster, that day, counts for nothing, as Westminster was only a formal date. In fact, he must have gone thither before the 25th, for Chapuys, writing on that day, mentions the ring having been sent to him.

² Hall's *Chronicle* (Ellis's ed., 1809), 764.

³ See Rolls of Parliament, printed at the beginning of the *Lords' Journals*, cli.

⁴ Spanish *Calendar*, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 324.

wether ; but the invective against Wolsey is unquestionable, and no one who knows More's controversial writings will say that he was incapable of using language of that description. But there are some things to be considered as regards More's position in this matter, which perhaps may be better appreciated now than they have been hitherto.

It was against his will that More ever entered the king's service at all. No one who reads the 'Utopia,' written fourteen years before this time, can doubt that he regarded the service of kings, as the world then stood, as a demoralising service beset with so many dangers to the individual character that a man could not be the better of entering it. With this feeling he had striven as hard to keep out of the court as others had to get into it. But he could not escape the eye of Henry VIII., who, with all his own bad qualities, had the finest appreciation of valuable qualities in others, especially wit, learning, and general ability. Henry had long before this sent him on embassies, made him a Privy Councillor, and finally appointed him Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He had been quite a favourite with the king, who had even dropped in upon him once unexpectedly at his house at Chelsea, and walked along with him in his garden with his arm about his neck.¹ But when his son-in-law Roper congratulated him on being in such high favour, he showed that he estimated it all at its true value. 'I thank our Lord, son,' he replied, 'I find his Grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm. Howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France'—'for then,' adds Roper, 'was there wars between us'—'it should not fail to go.'

How, then, was such a man induced to accept a still more responsible office after the fall of Wolsey ? The Lord Chancellor was officially the keeper of the king's conscience ; and was that a charge More was likely to undertake when Henry's professed scruples of conscience led him to desire a

¹ Roper's *Life of More*, 25, 26.

divorce? That he undertook it most unwillingly, no doubt, is true; but he undertook it none the less. Nor was he at all unconscious of the king's wishes, for the king had repeatedly talked over the subject with him in private, and had done his best to bring him over to his own view as to the invalidity of his marriage. But he had told the king plainly he could find no argument to justify that view of the case; and Henry's reply, according to Roper, was 'that if he could not with his conscience therein serve him, he was content to accept his service otherwise, and use the advice of other of his learned counsel, whose conscience would well enough agree therewith; he would, nevertheless, continue his gracious favour towards him, and never with that matter molest his conscience afterwards.'¹

This, of course, makes the thing intelligible; but I am not sure that it is the whole explanation after all. Roper's memory probably did not bring back to him, at the time he wrote, the whole circumstances of the case. For one point, at least, suggests itself:—If the king really told More that he would use more subservient agents to get his divorce, how could he make More the official keeper of his conscience? I have a slight doubt, I confess, whether his Majesty was quite so candid. In the end of July, as we have seen, he had given the matter up as hopeless. Did anybody know, beyond a very select circle, that he was going to pursue it still? Not a word as yet had been breathed about disrespect for the Pope's authority. Quite the contrary. The king, when Campeggio took leave of him, had said to him with apparent sincerity that he would never fail to be a most Christian king and a good defender of the faith; and when, immediately afterwards, the Cardinal presented a brief from the Pope touching the citation, the king carefully read it through, and remarked with evident satisfaction to his councillors with reference to a passage exhorting him to treat the queen well: 'See, although his Holiness is able to command, he only exhorts.' And it would seem that, though she was far from

¹ Roper's *Life of More*, 60.

satisfied as to his further intentions, he did treat the queen with kindness for a short time afterwards.

There was still a hope, then, it would seem, that the king had given up the divorce project entirely,¹ for he had as yet taken no visible steps to pursue the matter further. And More must have wished to confirm him in what he hoped was a new and better line of policy. It is true the king's present advisers were Anne Boleyn's friends—her uncle Norfolk, her father the Earl of Wiltshire, and so forth. But it was not clear that even they were bent on reviving the question. Wolsey's crime in the eyes of the world at large was that he had fed the king with false expectations and encouraged him in a wicked design. Katharine herself and the Imperial and French ambassadors knew well enough that that design was not yet abandoned, and there was no doubt about the king's shameless intimacy with Anne Boleyn. But even to the imperial ambassador the Duke of Norfolk protested that he would have sacrificed one of his hands rather than the question had ever arisen.² If they were still going to take opinions on the subject, common law, of course, would decide the matter, and not private feeling one way or other. So the Duke of Norfolk put it.

At all events, Wolsey was now the *bête noire* of everybody, especially, no doubt, since his declaration at Tittenhanger, and great hopes seem to have been entertained in favour of Queen Katharine, just because the new Lord Chancellor was well known to be on her side. 'Everyone,' wrote Chapuys, 'is delighted at his promotion, because he is an upright and

¹ Campeggio was fully persuaded that this was the case after he had taken leave of the king in September; but an interview with Chapuys, shortly afterwards, filled him with misgivings, and he agreed that the queen ought to prosecute her defence to the utmost of her power. Even in November, however, there was a rumour that Anne Boleyn would be disposed of in marriage to some of the nobility—Chapuys said, to the son of the late Duke of Buckingham (Henry Stafford). But this must be a mistake, as he was already married, and had at the time seven children by his wife, Ursula Pole, who outlived him. See *Spanish Calendar*, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 325. Compare Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd series, ii. 24.

² *Spanish Calendar*, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 294.

learned man, and a good servant of the queen.¹ So it is clear that whatever might be Henry's relations at this time with Anne Boleyn, there was some reason at least to expect that justice would be done to Katharine. And if this be so, what wonder that More, however highly he may have esteemed his predecessor's abilities, wished to denounce the iniquity of his policy in the plainest possible terms? Wolsey had actually confessed, however untruly, that it was he who had advised the divorce, and that he advised it still. What wonder, then, that he was pointed at as the man who had misled the king? There were plenty of people to take up the cry. More, too, denounced him in the very same way, and did his best at the same time to exculpate the king for having used the Cardinal's services so long.²

It may well be, of course, that More was aware of undercurrents in the king's policy which did not set in the direction of justice to Katharine. But that justice to Katharine was at this time generally hoped for, the words of Chapuys, I think, sufficiently imply. Moreover, it was just at this very time, shortly after All Hallows' day, and therefore about the beginning of the Parliamentary session, that he whom Pole called an emissary of Satan first got access to the king's presence, and persuaded him that he might overcome all difficulties in the end by his own absolute power. No such suggestion had been breathed as yet even by the boldest of Henry's councillors; but we can tell when that counsel was given him. On the morning of All Hallows' Day Cavendish found Cromwell at Esher in deep distress and anxiety as to how the judgment passed against his master, Wolsey, two days before in the King's Bench, might affect himself. But he declared he would that very

¹ *Calendar, Henry VIII.* vol. iv. p. 2684. See the original text in Bradford's *Correspondence of Charles V.*, p. 293.

² See Chapuys's account of the speech, to which reference has already been made. It is probably more accurate than Hall's as regards the apology for the king in having trusted Wolsey so long. Hall makes More speak with contempt of Wolsey for supposing that the king did not see through him; which is very unlikely.

afternoon ride to London, and so to the court, where he would either 'make or mar'—that was his expression—before he came back. And he certainly succeeded in making things smoother, both for himself and for his master, in a way that we shall see presently. Meanwhile, an incident that occurred at Esher on the night of that same All Hallows' day may help to show us how his path was rendered less difficult than it otherwise would have been.

Cardinal Wolsey had supped, and he and his household had gone to bed, when at midnight a porter knocked at his usher Cavendish's door and told him that Sir John Russell, with a body of men on horseback, was at the gates. The night was very wet, and Cavendish lit a fire and let in the company. Russell came from the king, and his message was to deliver to Wolsey another ring for a token, and to bid him be of good cheer, for his Grace loved him as well as ever, and was thinking of him constantly, being himself not a little disquieted on account of Wolsey's troubles. One more evidence, in short, that what the king had done against Wolsey he had done against his will, though the process, no doubt, had been sweetened to him by a little confiscation. And the matter is made more evident still by the sequel; for Russell, after a private interview in Wolsey's bed-room, took leave of him, and after a small repast and a very brief rest in bed, said he must ride back to court at Greenwich again before it was day, 'for he would not for anything it were known his being with my lord that night.' In fact the king was extremely anxious to reassure Wolsey without letting it be known that he had done so; and it almost seems as if the secret had got wind after all, with some unpleasant results; for Russell, about the beginning of February following, told Chapuys that Anne Boleyn had refused to speak with him for nearly a month, being very angry that he had dared to say something to the king in favour of Wolsey.¹

Notwithstanding the judgment already passed against

¹ *Letters and Papers*, iv. p. 2781. *Spanish Calendar*, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 449. See the original in Bradford, 309.

him in the King's Bench, a regular bill of attainder was now preferred against the Cardinal in the House of Lords. It was evidently feared that he would even yet recover power, and the object was to tie the king's hands so as to render this impossible ; for the bill, which consists of forty-four articles, concludes with the prayer that the king will 'set such order and direction upon the said lord Cardinal as may be to the terrible example of others to beware so to offend your Grace and your laws hereafter ; and that he be so provided for, that he never have any power, jurisdiction, or authority hereafter, to trouble, vex, and impoverish the commonwealth of this your realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great hurt and damage of every man almost, high and low.' It was significant of the influences which inspired this proceeding that the bill originated in the House of Lords ; for bills of attainder, though generally prompted by leading noblemen, usually had their origin in the Commons. Nor does it increase our respect for Wolsey's opponents that, having been already condemned in his absence by the Court of King's Bench, he was now again condemned in his absence by the House of Lords. The bill is expressly dated December 1 in the twenty-first year of Henry VIII., and bears at the foot seventeen signatures. The first is that of Sir Thomas More ; then follow twelve peers ; then two knights and Privy Councillors ; then a justice of the Common Pleas (Fitzherbert) ; and last, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench (FitzJames).

Such signatures ought certainly, one would think, to give credit to the statements to which they were attached, especially that of Sir Thomas More. But More, I suspect, only signed officially as Chancellor at the head of the others to signify that the bill had passed the House of Lords. For it is simply impossible to regard the forty-four counts in this bill as a plain unimpassioned statement of facts. The first, for instance, is merely a repetition of the injustice already done to Wolsey in the King's Bench indictment, charging him with having procured legatine powers from the Pope in derogation of the king's prerogative—a charge which was really shameful,

seeing that it was out of regard for the king himself far more than for Wolsey that legatine powers were granted to the latter by an unwilling Pope. The second and third, that Wolsey in France had made a treaty with Francis I., and attempted to make one with the Duke of Ferrara, without warrant and without his sovereign's knowledge, are not only quite incredible in themselves, but are against the plain evidence of State Papers. Others, no doubt, contain circumstantial truth, though it is obvious that there is a bias all through ; and, indeed, comparing this with other Parliamentary indictments, one is rather reminded of a modern statesman's dictum about a different kind of procedure—that a remark on the multiplication table would do quite well for an amendment to an address. Hardly any statement was irrelevant in preparing a bill of impeachment.

But all these articles, according to Hall the chronicler, were confessed by the Cardinal himself under his own hand. Hall's bias against Wolsey is notorious, and we may be perfectly certain that what he states here is not a fact. The bill was sent down to the Commons in due course, and though Hall is silent about this, it was thrown out by the Commons. Hall's malicious statements, however, deserve some consideration, for they are not those of an ignorant man, by any means, and it so happens that we can show pretty clearly how much truth and how much falsehood there is in them. After citing a few of the counts in the Parliamentary indictment, he goes on to tell us :

These articles, with many more, read in the Common House, *and signed with the Cardinal's hand, was confessed by him*, and also there was shown a writing sealed with his seal, by the which he gave to the king all his movables and unmovables.

And then a little later he adds :

When all things were concluded in the Parliament House, the king came to the Parliament Chamber the 17th day of December, and there put his royal assent to all things done by the Lords and Commons, and so prorogued his Court of Parliament till the next year.

Thus Hall evidently gives the reader to understand, though he does not say so expressly, that the bill was actually passed by the Commons and received the royal assent, though he knew perfectly well that this was not the case; and not content with a *suggestio falsi*, he deliberately tells us that the articles were confessed by the Cardinal himself under his own handwriting. This is simply untrue; for what Wolsey himself said of the articles, writing confidentially about them to Cromwell, is as follows: 'Whereof a great part be untrue, and those that be true are of such sort that by the doing thereof no malice or untruth can be arrested unto me, neither to the prince's person, nor to the State.' And this, he tells Cromwell, he might make bold to show the king.¹ Moreover, we have Cavendish's authority for saying that through Cromwell's abie reasoning against it the bill was lost in the Commons. But Wolsey, though he had not confessed the Parliamentary impeachment, had, as we have already seen, confessed his liability to the *præmunire*; and this he had done in the very same 'writing sealed with his seal, by the which he gave to the king all his movables and unmovables.' Hall, on the contrary, wishes us to believe that the signed confession was one document and the surrender of his property another; and, moreover, that the former referred to the Parliamentary impeachment. These statements were, there is no doubt, deliberately intended to mislead. But the production of the 'indenture' in the House of Commons is still a fact to which Hall is a very competent witness; and the true significance of this fact, which he purposely obscures, is a matter deserving careful consideration, for it is a very significant fact indeed. When we consider that the bill was thrown out in the House of Commons after this document had been produced, it is hardly a very rash conclusion to say that the indenture was read there with a view to the rejection of the bill, for it was the natural function of an advocate of Wolsey in that House to show that the Cardinal had already made the most

¹ *Letters and Papers*, iv. p. 2715.

complete submission to the king, that he had divested himself of all his property and power, and that there was really no use in persecuting him further. And we may depend upon it that this was the line pursued by Thomas Cromwell when he defended his master so energetically ; for he, apparently, was the only advocate Wolsey had there.

But how came Cromwell to have got such a document to produce to the House of Commons ? We have no hint of its being communicated to the House of Lords, which, on the whole, is hardly probable. But if it was produced in the House of Commons, it must have been produced by the king's authority, or, at least, with his permission ; for the document itself was the king's property, and could not be carried about or used anywhere without his sanction. Was Cromwell entrusted with it for the express purpose of reading and showing it in the House of Commons that he might the more successfully plead his master's cause ? This may seem a bold conjecture, and yet the facts, to my mind, point strongly to that conclusion. It was no secret, in fact, to the inner circle of observers, that the king bore real goodwill to the Cardinal even now.¹ It was because he did so that Norfolk and others of the Council stood in mortal terror² lest he should be recalled to power, and got the king's leave shortly afterwards to send him away from Esher to his archbishopric in the north. Nor were their fears abated even then, when Wolsey was quietly

¹ The Imperial Ambassador, Chapuys, saw this plainly from several indications, and says distinctly that on this account the king would not allow Wolsey's case to be determined by Parliament, 'for had it been decided against him, he could not, in the face of such a decision, have pardoned him, as he intended to do, and has since done.' Chapuys to Charles V., 6 Feb., 1530. (See *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. iv. part i. p. 448.) This seems to be the earliest reference to the constitutional doctrine, that a royal pardon could not be pleaded against a Parliamentary impeachment.

² The terror of Norfolk is the only possible excuse for his almost inconceivable language to Cromwell. 'Sir (quoth he) me thinketh that the Cardinal, your master, maketh no haste northward. Show him that if he go not away shortly, I will, rather than he should tarry still, tear him with my teeth !' (*Cavendish*, 232). Not long before the duke had shown himself highly courteous and humane towards Wolsey in his adversity, and was thanked for it by the Cardinal himself (*ib.* 211-214).

administering his diocese—serving his God instead of his king, as he was glad to do at last—till they found out the means of concocting at length a more plausible, though certainly not more just, charge of treason than any they had produced before, on which they would have committed him to the Tower. But sheer fright and illness did the work; and on his journey to London he was compelled to rest at Leicester, where he died.

It is not my object, however, here to pursue the story of the last eleven months of Wolsey's life. My task ends with the Parliamentary impeachment. One more observation, however, I must be allowed to make, even at the risk of being accounted a heretic by constitutional historians. These, from Hallam onwards to the late Mr. Green in his 'Short History of England,' have generally told us that the development of the House of Commons, which had made some progress under the Lancastrian reigns, was arrested under 'the New Monarchy,' as Mr. Green calls it, of Edward IV. and the Tudors, until its long suspended animation was resumed under the Stuarts. I never could see, for my part, that this theory was in accordance with facts. To me it appears almost the very reverse of truth. You will look in vain, I think, in the Parliaments of the Plantagenets for any high sense of the destinies or the functions of the House of Commons. It was the Tudors who first instructed them to snub the House of Lords or the Bishops in convocation, relying on the support of the Crown; and it was under Tudor encouragement that they learned to claim freedom from arrest for debt. For the House of Lords and the Church had been the chief controlling powers hitherto to prevent absolutism; and it was the Tudor policy to depress them both by setting up the House of Commons as a counterpoise to the one, and royal supremacy to overbear the other. In the present instance, moreover, the factiousness of the aristocracy had laid them open to a well-merited rebuke, when the Commons, with the manifest approval of the king, ventured to reject their bill.

Postscript.—I have spoken freely in the foregoing paper of the injustice of the Parliamentary procedure against Wolsey; and I am not disposed to mitigate what I have said. Not only was it against all principles of equity to condemn a statesman in his absence, but it is certain that many of the counts of the indictment were quite opposed to fact. Some, however, may be disposed to question whether my explanation of More's signature having been appended to an unjust bill is altogether adequate; and though I think it is the true explanation, it may not, perhaps, be the *whole* explanation. For I will not venture to say that More signed the bill with entire reluctance. Possibly both he and other of the signatories believed that no practical injustice was done. Mischievous ministers must be got rid of somehow; and a minister who had made himself responsible for all that had been done about the divorce was a sort of monster, alike in the eyes of the queen's friends and of those of Anne Boleyn. The former party considered what he had done iniquitous, the latter regarded it as a failure for which he should be made severely responsible. It is true, the indictment did not impeach his policy expressly in relation to the divorce—that would have been too manifest an insult to the king. But it impeached his foreign policy, which unquestionably was framed to promote the divorce policy, and it was really a sort of conventional fiction in such cases to suppose that the minister had acted ‘without the privity of the king.’ Wolsey was accused of making treaties of the highest significance abroad, affecting the Pope and the French king, without letting his own king know, and of writing despatches from home, in which, by the expression, ‘the king and I,’ he appeared to make his own authority as great as Henry's. In short, one great object of the bill was to get the king to disown much of what Wolsey had done in his behalf. Another was to prevent his ever being called to the king's counsels again.

Now these were the aims mainly of Katharine's friends; and if we dismiss the question of justice as regards Wolsey, we shall find much more to sympathise with in their desire for justice to Katharine. Lord Mountjoy, for instance, who was one of the signatories, was Katharine's chamberlain, and served her with loyal devotion till her household was dismissed in 1533. Sir Henry Guildford, Controller of the King's Household, was a warm friend of Katharine's.¹ So, too, was the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, as Steward of the Household, was the custodian of the Queen of England's crown, and declared in 1531

¹ *Lett. &c Pap. H. VIII.*, vol. v. No. 120.

that he would not like to put that crown on any other head than Katharine's. Lord Darcy, too, who had been drawing indictments against Wolsey for months in secret, was strongly opposed to the king's policy in the divorce, and a few years later conspired to raise the north against him, to compel him to dismiss Anne Boleyn.¹ The Marquis of Exeter had very much the same feeling, and declared that he was ready to shed his blood in Katharine's cause. And finally we know from the secret dispatches of Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, that the king's own chamberlain, Lord Sandys, though he never seems to have been out of favour, did not relish the divorce at all.² Indeed, it is pretty safe to say that at least half the signatories of the bill of indictment sympathised with Katharine, and believed what they were doing to be the best available means of putting an end to her persecution.

¹ See Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*, ii. 31.

² *Ibid.* ii. 58.

POLITICS AT THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE

BY THE REV. J. NEVILLE FIGGIS, M.A.

Read May 18, 1899

WAS the Council of Constance a failure? We are apt to think so. True it deposed three popes, and burnt two heresiarchs and mildly condemned some unusually idiotic pamphleteering.¹ It did restore unity to the Church desolated by half a century of schism. But it seemed as though the passion for unity had absorbed all the energies of men who had before talked not merely of unity, but of reformation—both in the head and members of the Church. For enduring reform men had to wait a full century, and when it came it came in other and rougher guides than that contemplated by Parisian doctors. But this was as nothing to the ruin that beset the constitutional schemes of the fathers. They were fond of asserting the superiority of councils to popes. They desired to take security for the future by clipping the wings of the Canonists, and (shall we say?) interpreting the ‘plenitudo potestatis.’ The Pope was still to be head, for Jesus Christ had founded a kingdom; but he was to rule with a Bill of Rights to restrain him to do what he ought, not what he liked. The decree ‘Frequens’ was to serve as a triennial act for the ecclesiastical revolution, and a council which was virtually the Church—at any rate as much so as the eighteenth century House of Commons was in Whig phrase ‘virtually’ the

¹ It is a curious fact that in most of the latter, mainly Jesuit, arguments as to the scope and validity of the Decree of the Council, no one appears to have thought fit to inquire as to the meaning of ‘tyrannus’ in the Decree, which was merely that of traitor and not of tyrant in the ordinary senses of oppressor and usurper.

representative of the people of England—was to meet at short intervals to effect reforms and to teach the Pope his place. Undue centralisation was to be avoided, national rights were to be maintained, and the fitting independence of bishops was to be upheld. Even the college of cardinals was to be reformed. Thus the Church purged of corruption, guarded from tyranny, a harmony of balanced forces, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, combined in a 'mixed government' that should have the merits of all and the faults of none, was to go on its triumphant work 'assisting' secular sovereigns and enlightening the world—the model not only of celestial concord, but of terrestrial polity.

So they dreamed. We know what happened. It had needed the appalling scandal of a schism to awaken men's minds to the sovereignty of the Council—just as Mr. Dicey tells us it needed the thunder of the Civil War to awaken the sleeping (Austinian) sovereign of the United States. But a Council was a costly luxury. No one save a few enthusiasts desired another. The 'plenitudo potestatis' rose like a phoenix from the ashes to which Gerson and d'Ailly would have reduced it.¹ The Council of Basel, which had begun as a nuisance to the Pope, ended as a laughing stock to Christendom.² Its principles might be a judicious mixture of natural reason, legal precedent, Old Testament history, and New Testament maxims, but they were ineffectual, as practically embodied in

¹ Torquemada, who wrote on this subject at the close of the conciliar movement, is certainly no less emphatic than most of his predecessors. And, compared with Bozius, who wrote in the next century, even Augustin del Trionfo is

'As moonlight is to sunlight, and as water is to wine.'

It is no wonder that Bellarmine found it well to declare, that in defending the temporal power of the Pope, he preferred his own methods, and was not bound by the dicta of Bozius.

² It is strange how Presbyterian it became towards the close. All conciliar writers were inclined, like Dr. Horst, to interpret the great commission to St. Peter as given only in the name of the whole Church; but towards the close of the Council of Basel after Cesareni's departure, when the deposition of Eugenius was in progress, Louis d'Allemand and his friends, in search of a majority, were compelled to argue (or thought they were) for the fundamental equality of priests and bishops.

Felix V. Indeed, the attempt to stem the flowing tide of Papal autocracy by damming it (with both spellings) by that amiable and not too liberal sensualist, Felix V., was like trying to stop an express train with a scarecrow. The Papacy was only stronger for the struggle. That pupil of circumstance, Aeneas Sylvius, thought so. He developed a timely repentance of the errors of his youth. He left the fathers of Basel to their impotent eloquence, and after a judicious interval of neutrality, won the Papal favour by restoring to its obedience the recalcitrant empire. To crown all, Aeneas, who had begun life as a constitutionalist and a strong parliament man, so to say, closed it with decorum as an occupant of the Papal throne, seeking by his policy to add fresh brilliance to the tiara while life lasted. Then as it was closing, he asserted the recovered Papal authority by dragging his cardinals to an unpleasant marsh in an unsavoury country, in order that he might die with melodramatic dignity as the leader of a crusade which was only not heroic because he calculated rightly on death arriving before he had exposed its impracticability. We hear no more of Councils for some time—save as a threat in the regular way of diplomatic business. They had become too *doctrinaire*. Very likely, if their supporters had not held their heads so high, they would have done more, and Protestants would not now be praising God for the iniquities of Alexander VI., or Catholics deplored the loss of the conquests of Juliano della Rovere.

In the realm of immediate fact, Constance must undoubtedly be pronounced a failure. But as an epoch in the history of political thought we may, I think, claim for it an enduring influence. Even those who deny the continuity of political thought will be hard put to it to set aside the evidence which connects the Whigs with the Jesuits and the Huguenots, and through them with John Major and Almain, and so back to Basel and Constance. For the opportunity was favourable to the assertion upon a grand scale of what may be called constitutional Church principles. It was to an urgent sense of the need of unity and of the importance of

the commonwealth, that the Council owed its existence. And the men most impressed with the need of stopping the schism were forced to ask themselves the questions that lie at the root of the struggle between constitutionalism and democracy.

Who is the ultimate depositary of power in a State? What is the final test of right in politics? How far is legal claim to override present advantage? What does right really mean when exercised by a corrupt or tyrannous sovereign? What is the best form of government? How far does prescription give to usurpation an abiding sanction? And, as a final practical question, may a tyrant be deposed against his will? May the 'estates' meet and continue to meet against the will of the sovereign? Can, in a word, a general council be summoned by another than the Pope, and need it be dissolved save with its own consent? These and such like questions were agitating men's minds at Constance and Basel; and no one who knows anything of the history of the seventeenth century will deny that they continued in various ways to agitate them right down to the close of that period.

But besides this general similarity to later controversies the significance of Constance is threefold. The principle of utility is exalted by the fathers to the level of a divine ordinance. The superiority of limited monarchy, and in a last resort of popular sovereignty, is affirmed, and pure politics appear for the first time on the largest scale.

We may talk of mediæval constitutional struggles, but it is not the petty bickerings of baby nations that filled men's thoughts so much as that secular warfare between civil and spiritual authority which yet rings in our ears and still loads the shelves of our libraries. Hildebrand, Becket, Innocent, and Boniface, and on the other side Dante, Ockham, and Marsilio were fighting, not as party politicians, but as leaders of opposing hosts, and beside these great names sainted adventurers like Simon de Montfort or undergraduate cataclysms like the Model Parliament, fade into insignificance or text books. Pure domestic politics were hardly possible on

a great scale in the Middle Ages, for not only were the States less than organised, and Christendom something more than a geographical expression, but the very meaning of mediaeval is an ideal of life which inevitably leads to a sharp conflict between God's government and man's dominion. *La haute politique* of the Middle Ages was mainly occupied in a struggle, not indeed international but inter-civic. The problem of the relation of the State to that other and greatest State known as the Church, fills the most important place and leads to the chief political writings of the Middle Ages and after. Indeed, until toleration becomes a recognised maxim of State it is not possible to have pure politics, and we all know how deeply religion entered into the political struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact, inside the Church was the only possible place where pure politics (by which I mean politics not governed by the question between civil and spiritual authority) could appear if occasion demanded. Now the great schism was the occasion. The scandal of competitive Pontificates, the failure of Pisa, where the cardinals, so far from ending the schism, had not even mended it, the need of reform and the development of national feeling, drove men perforce to the consideration of what real power existed in the Church apart from the Papal. Doubtless even at Constance there were thoughts about the relation of civil to spiritual authority. The incipient Whiggism of Zabarella, or Henry of Langenstein, is mingled with a belief in the power of the emperor to end or to help to end the schism. In the spiritual, no less than the temporal state, Whigs lean a little to Erastianism.¹ Still, the fundamental problem of Constance was not that as to the relation between Church and State, but as to those in whom the ultimate sovereignty of the Church was vested. It was a struggle within that institution, which was the State *par excellence* of the Middle Ages, and no

¹ Was Erasmus an Erastian? I have very grave doubts, and so apparently had his translator of fifty years ago. But it is too long a question to enter into here, save to point out that he wrote with no object of establishing secular authority, the position of Hobbes's *Leviathan*, but merely in order to protest against the employment of the 'discipline' of excommunication.

conflict as to the limits of its jurisdiction, or attempt after a scientific frontier, which should preserve it from the danger of secular invasion. Nor, again, was Gallicanism unrepresented in the Council, for the feeling was strong against the complete centralisation of the Church, and with a little more luck the problem of federalism might have been discussed in a way that would have afforded a fresh parallel to Mr. Freeman.¹

But, after all, these matters were subordinate. The vital question was that as to the government of a unitary state. For the 'Civitas Dei,' from St. Augustine² downwards, was in the eyes of all Christians not merely a state, but *the state*, founded directly by Christ, and enjoying there the perfect polity. And so it is, because it was a struggle within the Church, that we can have more pure politics at Constance than in any other mediaeval controversy. The questions were of this kind : Could God have intended His Church to become a tyranny ? How far was utility the final criterion of political (*i.e.* ecclesiastical) principle ? In whom was the ultimate sovereignty vested ? And how far was it inalienable ? Was the crown in Parliament superior to the crown in Council, or without it ? If the monarch was dead or fled, had a convention the power of Parliament ? The answers are to be found in no uncertain language, and with the usual paraphernalia of scholastic debate. Henry of Langenstein and Zabarella are perhaps the most acute ; Andreas of Randuf and Dietrich of Niem the most violent, with a possible exception in favour of Nicolas of Clemanges ; Peter d'Ailly and John Gerson the most voluminous. Great, indeed, is the last—great in his influence

¹ The questions on the subject of the nations are evidence of this, and the Concordats another.

² Is it not possible that St. Augustine's influence in politics has been on a par with his theological importance ? We cannot, indeed, find the system of Hildebrand or Innocent in the *De Civitate Dei*, but the governing notions of that book, the essential superiority of the spiritual to the secular state, and the conception of the Church as above all things a state, and the way in which secular politics are regarded, appear to contain the germ of that audacious vision of a Church-state ruling over the kingdoms of the earth which dazzled the eyes and directed the policy of Gregory VII. and his successors.

and his activity, greater perhaps in his learning and devotion, greatest of all in the possession of a sense of humour, which leads him to omit many arguments on account of his 'brevitatis amor.' However, there is little difference between the views laid down by all of them, held, too, in common by many of the later assembly at Basel with Aeneas Sylvius, with Louis d'Allemand, with Almain, and John Major. The whole amounts to the assertion on the grandest scale of the divine right of constitutionalism, though by no means of pure democracy.

All these thinkers are governed by the sense of the unity of the state and of the solidarity of its members. The Church was founded by Christ. And while there is some doubt as to whether it could have appointed a vicar for itself the general view appears to be that it could, for the Pope is vicar of the Church rather than of Christ, and it is the sovereignty of the Church as a whole that is ultimately indefectible and inalienable. The Pope is the minister, the instrument of the Church, and his power in ordinary cases, of course, is paramount. But the Church is by no means a pure monarchy. It is besides compounded of aristocracy as represented by the College of Cardinals, and representative democracy as exhibited in the Council. For the Council was virtually the whole Church, and we seem to approach the view of Algernon Sidney and others, who regarded the unreformed Parliament as virtually, though not actually, representing every citizen. The power of the Pope was for the edification, not the destruction of the Church, and all his prerogatives must be interpreted in reference to this fact. The good of the Church as a whole, not of any part of it, even the Papacy, was the supreme law—*salus populi* must govern all things. For the safety in question was not that of time but of eternity. It could not be that God had set up a power which left the Pope free to drag his subjects not merely to suffering but to hell. And the Pope was not the source of conciliar authority; no more than James's Parliament did they derive all matter of privilege from the monarch. The power of the Church was

immediately from God, and no Pope could remove it. The contest between the authority, which was directly or indirectly from God, comes here in a different sphere; in fact, instead of being between civil and secular it is for the first time between monarch and people. Divine right is claimed for the Council *versus* the Pope, before it was ever extensively claimed for people *versus* king. It is, too, clear that a mixed government is the best, for Moses had it and there is no other security against tyranny, and every pure form is liable to corruption, and an earthly kingdom cannot be better off than the Church. The Council, though summoned properly by the Pope, might yet depose him, for the estates of a kingdom are superior to the king. Constitutionalism in secular states is taken for granted. There is no hint that the absolutist theory of the Divine Right of Kings against their people was ever held at all. There are times when we must return to the state of nature, to the *jus pristinum* inherent in every community, and the power given to the Church by Christ, but evidently also the *prius* of all states, when every man was a law unto himself. And if neither Pope nor cardinals will summon the Council when need be, Christian kings may do so, and failing them any member of the Christian commonwealth. And the Council is to be fully representative. The members of the Church, whether bishops or priests (and Basel will enlarge upon this), whether clerical or lay, may in the last resort be consulted, and on certain matters have votes—for *quod omnes tangit ab omnibus comprobetur* is a maxim true for the holy state, as that other aphorism about the pleasure of the prince is false.

But although the individual may set the Council in motion, he must wait for public authority to throw off his allegiance—it is not of the individual but of the community that we hear most. The general will is law. And a majority of the Council is above all earthly power; it is, indeed, not the Council, but God Himself speaking by its voice, that deposes the Papal tyrant. The promise 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' secures the divine right of the majority, for the

promise was really to the Church, and thus *vox populi* is in the truest sense *vox Dei*.

Now it is impossible not to be struck with the similarity of this theory, even down to Gerson's statement that the secular State owed its origin to the Fall, with that system of the ecclesiastical politicians, Knox, Buchanan, Du Plessis Mornay, Suarez, Mariana, Bellarmin, and the rest of the sixteenth century, and to the Whig development of the same view. The theory is one of mixed government or limited monarchy, not of pure democracy. It preserves existing institutions and does not strive to chop up the state upon *doctrinaire* principles. It is as aristocratic as the 'Vindiciae' or the Whigs in its practical import. Its catchwords are similar; mixed government is its ideal; the monarch is in much the same position in regard to the Council as later views put him in regard to the estates. There is not, indeed, the same individualism, and the foundation of the Church of Christ precludes the need of an original compact. But it has a similar appeal to natural reason and imperious necessity, and is equally timid of arming revolutionary forces.

Further, there can be little doubt that writers such as Major and Almain might easily form a link of connection. And it is well to remark on the favourable position of the conciliar party for securing the widespread influence, as well as prevalence of their views. In the first place they were necessary. If the great schism was to be ended some theory of popular sovereignty belonging to the Church must be laid down, and convenience is the mother of politics. In the second place the matter was of universal interest; the whole of Europe, at least Western Europe, was concerned. Constitutionalism had a chance then that it has perhaps not had since. And lastly, its connection with religious matters gave it a strength for which ordinary political thought could not hope.

The principle of utility was consecrated by the occasion, and took a shape which none could scorn. Mere expediency has always something vulgar, and often a taint of immorality

about it. But the expediency of the Church is the salvation of the world. It cannot therefore conflict with right in the true sense, whatever havoc it makes of rights. The antithesis between the right and the useful in politics is thus resolved. Christ gave the Pope power *in aedificationem non in destructionem*; God who wills that all men shall be saved cannot sanction a power through which they may all be damned, with no one allowed to rescue them from evil. The endurance of oppression may be, and was to be, preached as a duty. But passive obedience to a destroyer, not of bodies, but of souls, was a different thing. The right of a king may be held up as superior to the liberties or property of his subjects. But when the king is Pope, can the command to 'feed my sheep' be justly interpreted as the gift of an authority to starve them? Mere tyranny may always be represented as of the nature of a calamity which the Christian must endure for Christ's sake without resisting; but tyranny, which leads to damnation, cannot be divinely ordained. The duty of resistance is the clearer—that it is not suffering, but moral evil that is the danger from a depraved Papacy. So with the belief in the inherent power of the community. The positive laws of the Church are doubtless in a sense divine, and should be obeyed as a general rule; but whatever be the case in a secular state, it is clear that in the spiritual these things are merely the means to an end, and that in times of crisis the law of convenience, expediency, utility, salvation, is the final arbiter. It is curious that about a century before Machiavelli was to win for himself a *welt-historisch* reputation as the annihilator of the foundations of morality, the theologian reformers of Constance should have elevated the principle of utility into the position of the highest religious importance, and made it the pivot of their political system.

Was the reigning monarch accountable to God alone or not? That was the question which was to divide opinion in the future, as it had done in the past. And it was because the conciliar party was able to find in the infallibility of the Church a religious sanction of its authority, that it could

assert, and for the time being make good, its claim to superiority over the Pope, and declare the entire subjection of any individual, however exalted, to the community. For there was compromise in its attitude. It did not, like the Convention Parliament, take refuge in the fiction of an abdication, and it set forth Papal iniquities in language whose error was scarcely that of under-statement, and boldly deposed the servant of the servants of God.

For the cardinal truth that lies at the bottom of all theories of popular sovereignty, is that of the necessity, in the last resort, of appealing to the ordinary sense of the average man against prescriptive rights which have been abused to the point of becoming intolerable. In nearly all governments there comes a time when the interests of the community as a whole must be upheld, even at the risk of doing violence to the legal and customary claims of certain members of the society. The reiterated assertion that the whole must be greater than the part (*orbis major urbe*) goes to the real gist of the conciliar movement. It proclaimed the divine right of common-sense in politics. The familiar maxims of Rousseau (who was far less of an innovator than is commonly thought) as to the sovereignty of the people and its inalienability, are not really so very remote from some of the assertions of the Council. The view that all forms of government are merely the alterable delegacy of the sovereign people, may be paralleled or at least foreshadowed in a saying of Gerson. But although we cannot consider the conciliar theories without looking forward to Rousseau, and backwards to S. Thomas and his teachers, its aim was too practical and direct for it to be classed with Rousseau. It had to proclaim a doctrine, but not at any rate till the thirties can it be called *doctrinaire*, and then its day was done.

Yet its influence was great. The Papacy appropriated its notions in its struggles with heretic England and Gallican France. The Ultramontane party was able to find in the assertions of the Council (when duly confined to secular affairs), its main argumentative support. Then it passed

with various modifications to Huguenots, Presbyterians, and Whigs. It was, indeed, the distinctive mark of what Caroline divines would have called the Jesuitry of Dissenting politicians. The Pope not only subdued the Council but stole its thunder, and only partly failed in the attempt to employ it as a weapon to conquer the kings. Not even then was its work done. The same or very similar ideas, historically developed therefrom, were at the root of that movement which enabled a Protestant foreigner, with the aid of Papal money, to overthrow the English king who put his trust in that ideal of unregulated autocracy against which the conciliar theory formed the first general protest.

As we look back on the Council of Constance, with its fore-runner at Pisa and its aftermath Basel, it may seem but a sorry attempt to limit the most illimitable autocracy, which, I suppose, the world has ever seen. And few who quote the names (they have not always read the writings) of Locke or Sidney, or even of Knox and Buchanan, and du Plessis Mornay, would care to say much of the political system of Gerson and Zabarella and d'Ailly. If they think of them it would only be with scorn for sacerdotalist politicians and purblind mediaevalism. But if a closer inspection should make it appear that this Church Council first exhibited the conflicts of pure politics on the grand scale ; that in it the notions of constitutionalism gained the hall-mark of European acceptance ; that it elevated the principle of expediency to the rank of a religious truth, and kept it unsullied by the associations of vulgarity to which utilitarian maxims are ever liable ; that it set forth a system of politics which was consistent yet scarcely *doctrinaire*, which saved the rights of the crown while it secured the liberties of the people ; that its appeal was to the sense of corporate unity, not to that of individual exclusiveness ; that its use of its own maxims was so guarded that no more sanction was given to indiscriminate rebellion than to irresponsible tyranny ; that it appealed in the last resort to common-sense, and used the Bible to sanction the appeal ;

that it made its principles effectual by expressing all this with the form and method of argument which alone in that age would hold valid ; that it paved the way for the constitutional reformers of future generations ; and then, perhaps, you may agree with me, that it is a little doubtful what should be our answer to the query 'Was the Council of Constance a failure ?'

[I must beg the reader to excuse any inaccuracies in this paper. I had prepared an appendix containing passages illustrative of the doctrines set forth, compiled from the chief writers who discussed the matter at the time ; but ill-health prevented me from being in a place where references could be verified. I am compelled, therefore, to omit the appendix, and to trust that no important errors appear in the text.]

J. N. F.

PITT AND PEEL—1783-4, 1834-5

By FRANK H. HILL, F.R.HIST.S.

Read March 16, 1899

THE classic view of the struggle between George III. and the Whig aristocracy, which had its climax and catastrophe in the years 1783-4, is given with great force in Sir George Trevelyan's 'History of the American Revolution.' 'By the time,' he writes, 'George III. had been on the throne ten years, there were no two opinions about the righteousness and wisdom of the Revolution of 1688. To hear them talk they were all Whigs together, but meanwhile, under their eyes and with their concurrence, a despotism of subtle and insidious texture was being swiftly and deftly interwoven into the entire fabric of the constitution. The strong will, the imperious character and the patient unresting industry of the King, working through subservient Ministers on a corrupt Parliament, had made him master of the State as effectively and far more securely than if his authority had rested on the support of an army of foreign mercenaries.'

But the hour of danger, it is consolatory to learn, brought the deliverer. The party of resistance was organised by Edmund Burke. Reversing the modern procedure, he appealed from the sloth and indifference of the masses to the patriotism and virtue of the classes. Unable to move Acheron, he bowed the supernal gods to his will. 'He found,' says Sir George Trevelyan, 'his recruits for the party of independence and purity among the most exalted and wealthy of the land. Members of a powerful and vigorous

oligarchy, determined to show themselves worthy of their trust, the more prominent of them were marked out from their self-seeking and dissolute contemporaries by their disinterested political action and their blameless private habits. They had no taste for the amusements by which too many people in office relieved the labour of misgoverning the country.'¹

Charles Fox, whose character hardly suits this description, it must be remembered, was a Rockingham Whig by adoption only, and among his associates always more or less resembled a wild animal among a herd of tame ones. The picture is a brilliant one, even though we may doubt whether the blackness of George III. was so very black, and the whiteness of the Rockinghams so very white. Nor perhaps was the conflict quite what it is described to have been. The homely features of George III. do not readily shape themselves into the *vultus instantis tyranni*, nor, perhaps, were the great Revolution families models of Roman virtue. The struggle was not so much between a stealthy and encroaching despotism on the one hand and Parliamentary rule on the other as between two different conceptions of English monarchy, in which historically and constitutionally George III. had at least as much to say for himself as his opponents. His conception of the monarchy was the monarchy as settled in 1688. They dated the revolution in which they really believed from 1714. In the attacks made by Fox and Burke during and after the conflict of 1783-4 that was the epoch to which they appealed. They were always contrasting George III.'s behaviour with that of his royal progenitors. He was the first prince of the House of Brunswick who had dared to do this, that and the other. He was perpetually exhorted to guide himself by the maxims of his grandfather and great-grandfather. The reigns of William III. and of Queen Anne were left as completely out of account as the reigns of the Tudors and Plantagenets. The reason is obvious. Under the first two sovereigns of the House of Brunswick the

¹ Trevelyan's *American Revolution*, part i. pp. 21-25.

monarchical principle was practically in abeyance in England. The period from 1714 to 1760 was little more than an interregnum. Apart from fitful and capricious interpositions, the two kings 'made in Germany' were content to be stage kings. The sceptre which fell from their loose grasp was taken up and held in a firm grip by the Whig magnates who surrounded the throne, and it is fortunate that that virile breed of statesmen was at hand to guide the monarchy which they had founded through the perils which beset it. It is not surprising if, after nearly half a century of scarcely interrupted and almost uncontrolled power, they should have deemed that the authority which they had exercised belonged to them by right. The caretaker had been in occupation so long that he fancied himself the owner in fee simple. The emergency man could not recognise that the emergency had passed, and the attempt of the landlord to recover possession was regarded as a lawless intrusion. The reigns of George I. and George II. may be called the minority of the dynasty. In George III. it became of full age. The exhortation of his mother, 'George, be a king!' is denounced by Whig historians as a criminal incentive to lawless ambition. It probably was no more than an appeal to him to assume with the office the recognised but, by his predecessors, neglected duties of kingship.

It is to the credit of George III. that he did take the business of ruling seriously, that he examined every question brought before him for himself, that he discharged faithfully, if not always wisely, what he held to be his duties to the country and to the constitution. As to his methods, it perhaps does not lie with the political descendants of Walpole and the Pelhams to taunt him with the corruption of Parliament. Old Mr. Roberts, who was Henry Pelham's Secretary of the Treasury, used to narrate how on the last day of every session he took his stand in the Court of Requests, and conveyed in a squeeze of the hand to members as they passed him going to or from the House, to some 500*l.*, to some 800*l.* in bank notes, 'according to the merits,

abilities, and attendance of the respective individuals.¹ The mart which Henry Fox opened in the Pay Office for the purchase of votes may be of doubtful reality. Lord Stanhope is sceptical as to it. His difficulties with Newcastle as to the possibility of leading the House, and of talking appropriately to gentlemen 'when I do not know which of them have received gratifications and which have not,' are more certainly historic. George did not invent parliamentary corruption, though it must be admitted that he extended it from St. Stephen's to the constituencies, from the elected to the electors.²

It is curious that the conception of monarchy for which George III. contended is that which, disguised under republican forms, has got itself established in the United States; and that the idea of it entertained by the Rockingham Whigs, which has prevailed in this country, has in the process of evolution converted an almost uncontrolled oligarchy into a scarcely controlled democracy. The powers which George III. claimed for himself are those which the constitution of the United States, whose framers were necessarily guided by the political theories of their day, expressly reserved for the President. The right of the King to name his own Ministers, to retain them in office, or to dismiss them at pleasure, not altogether without reference to the approval or disapproval of the House of Commons, but independent of its formal and direct control, is possessed more completely by the President of the United States, whose Ministers, subject to the preliminary approval of the Senate, are entirely dependent upon and responsible to him, and utterly independent of and irresponsible to the House of Representatives. Votes of want of confidence, addresses requesting the removal of the Cabinet as a whole, or of any individual of it, would not stir a Minister from his seat. So long as he had

¹ Wraxall's *Historic Memoirs* (ed. 1836), iv. 667-70.

² See Hallam's *Constitutional History of England* (ed. 1846), ii. 465; Stanhope's *History of England* (1713-83) (ed. 1858), iv. 220; *Correspondence of George III. with Lord North*, ii. 421-6.

the President's support Mr. Alger was as safe as Mr. Hay. The consent of the Senate to the nomination of Ministers was in its origin rather the consent of a limited privy council of twenty-six members than that of a legislative chamber. The departmental system which George III. desired to establish in opposition to the system of collective ministerial responsibility is that which exists in Washington. Each Minister is the President's Minister. In one particular the King of England had an authority greater than that of the President of the United States. He could dissolve Parliament. The Senate and House in America must live their assigned terms. It was precisely this branch of the prerogative which Fox and Burke viewed with the greatest jealousy, and the exercise of which they endeavoured to hamper and restrict.¹ To the Rockingham Whigs the House of Commons was, as Lord Shelburne put it, a septennial nobility.² Burke in the debates in the newly-elected Parliament of 1784 denounced the recent dissolution as a murder not less iniquitous than the murder of a private citizen.³ Fox, whose idea was that the Government in its executive functions should be carried on in obedience to resolutions of the House of Commons, was perpetually moving or supporting addresses against dissolution.⁴ The provisions with respect to congressional election in the United States, so far from contemplating a Ministry dependent on the House of Representatives, seem to have been framed with the express idea of making a harmony between them uncertain and difficult. They ensure that the President shall be elected when the nation is in one mood and the House of Representatives renewed by instalments when it has passed into others. The chances are always strongly against the executive and the two Houses being of the same party complexion. The American idea goes far beyond the Georgian theory and practice.

¹ *Parliamentary History*, xxiv. 279-82; *Fox Memoirs*, ii. 11, and his repeated motions and speeches during the struggle with Pitt.

² Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne*, iii. 128.

³ *Parliamentary History*, xxiv. 943.

⁴ Todd's *Parliamentary Government*, i. 134-5, 154, 209; ii. 404-13.

With the example of the United States before us, and making whatever allowance may be due to the difference between an hereditary and lifelong, and a temporary and elected chief of the State, it would be rash to say that the monarchical system, which George III. strove to establish, or rather to restore, is in itself inconsistent with free government and popular self-rule. He certainly believed that in his conflict with the great families he was resisting oligarchical usurpation on the constitutional rights of the Crown and the people.

It is this conception which gives dignity to the somewhat squalid struggles of the Parliament of 1780-4, and inspired the bitter resistance which George III. opposed to the accession of the Coalition Government to power. When he was at last obliged to surrender to its pretensions *de facto* he did not admit their validity *de jure*. He retreated in order to make the better leap forward. Lord Townshend, who was at Court when Fox kissed hands as Secretary of State in the Coalition Ministry, saw a sight which convinced him that that Ministry was not destined to long life. 'The King,' he said, 'turned back his eyes and ears just like the horse at Astley's when the tailor he is determined to throw is getting upon him.'¹ The day before this ceremony the King had written to Temple imploring the aid of the Grenvilles, the Pitts, and other men of ability and character in releasing him from the intolerable position in which he was placed.² The Ministry had certainly been formed in a manner at least as unconstitutional as that in which it was afterwards destroyed. The principle laid down with emphasis both by Sir Robert Peel³ and Mr. Gladstone,⁴ that the selection of the head of the government belongs exclusively to the Sovereign, was rudely set aside as it had been twelve months before in the formation of the Rocking-

¹ *Memorials of Fox*, ii. 28.

² Duke of Buckingham's *Courts and Cabinets of George III.*, i. 219 (April 1, 1783).

³ *Hansard's Debates*, vol. lxxx. col. 1,004.

⁴ Gladstone's *Gleanings*, i. 389.

ham Government.¹ The Duke of Portland, whom George Selwyn calls a 'jolter-headed calf,' was forced upon George III.; and with the doubtful exception of Lord Stormont, whom North managed to smuggle into the Presidency of the Council behind the back of Fox, there was no member of the Cabinet who was acceptable to the King. The choice of the Prime Minister by the King is no doubt subject to conditions which sometimes leave him as they do other human beings, without any other freedom than that of Hobson. The members of the proposed Administration recommended by the new First Minister are the subject of deliberation between him and the Sovereign, and often of substitutions, admissions, and exclusions based on mutual concessions. To communicate the names to others before the King's pleasure has been taken would be a gross breach not only of constitutional propriety but of political and personal decency. All these offences were committed by the Coalition Cabinet. They nominated themselves. They imposed the Duke of Portland on the King. They submitted the list of the Cabinet to him as one which he must take or refuse as a whole. It was not a recommendation but an ultimatum. Fox's motives are intelligible. He feared the King's powers of seduction if the Cabinet contained a single member with whom George III. was on good terms, and especially if the head of the Treasury, who has the readiest access to the royal presence, were such a man. Portland, the Lepidus of the triumvirate of which Fox and North were the guiding spirits, was too dull to intrigue and too honest to be tampered with. Chatham, for similar reasons, had refused office when Temple, on whom he relied to convey faithfully his views to the King, had refused the Treasury.

Close observers, knowing the King's dislike of his Ministers, which those Ministers scarcely suspected, thinking they were getting on with him very well indeed, held that they would fall either before the session was over or very early in the recess. It seemed probable that the latter part of the

¹ Sir G. C. Lewis, *British Administrations*, p. 28.

alternative would be realised. In July Thurlow wrote to Pitt proposing an interview, and, a day being named, took the opportunity of seeing the King the day before, though he protested that the two colloquies had no connection with each other. The sequence was merely accidental, a statement which Pitt, describing what took place in a letter to Temple, published in the 'Dropmore Papers,' was inclined to doubt. Thurlow turned the conversation on Parliamentary Reform and the influence of the Crown, sounding Pitt, as he thought, on his willingness to abandon his support of the former and his resistance to the latter as the condition of office. Pitt declining to take the bait, and asserting that, though not desirous of office, he would not decline it on honourable terms, Thurlow intimated that the King himself was not particularly anxious for a change, that he had gone through the worst when the present Ministers came in, that there was a great difference between the resignation of a Ministry or pressure upon them in Parliament and their dismissal, adding that His Majesty had no insight into the way of forming an Administration. To this Pitt rejoined with the cheerful suggestion that perhaps after all the King might succeed in reconciling himself to his present advisers. Thurlow's effrontery was unequal to acceptance of this suggestion. Reviewing the whole business, Pitt thought that Thurlow had been sent to sound him on his willingness to return on the old Court system; that that idea had been effectually dispelled, and that he might probably have an offer which, on public grounds, he might honourably accept. He arranged to dine with Thurlow in a few days. What took place at the dinner, or whether the dinner itself took place, is not upon any record known to me.¹ A couple of months afterwards Pitt, passing through town on his way to France with Wilberforce, made his bow at St. James's. The King enquired, he thought significantly, when he was coming back.² His Majesty did

¹ *Manuscripts of J. P. Fortescue, Esq.*, preserved at Dropmore, i. 215-6. Published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

² *Dropmore Manuscripts*, i. 220.

not wait for his return. He was summoned to England in October, as Wilberforce narrates, by a special messenger.¹ The entry in Wilberforce's diary is even more significant than the King's enquiry. It runs, 'Returned to England in November, and secret plottings. The King groaning under the Ministry which had been imposed upon him.'²

There can be little doubt that Pitt was recalled to concert the measures to be taken against the Government in the coming session of Parliament, which met in November. The East India Bill of Fox gave the assailants of the Ministry the opportunity which they wanted. It was believed at the time that the King's hostility to the Bill was not roused till it reached the Lords, when Temple pointed out that the patronage clauses, as they were called, took away more than half of the King's authority, disabling him for life, and placing his Crown on the head of Charles Fox. The 'Rolliad' tells the story as it was then believed.

'On that great day when Buckingham by pairs
Ascended, heaven impelled, the King's back stairs,
And panting, breathless, strained his lung to show
From Fox's Bill what mighty ills would flow.'

'Still, as with stammering tongue he told his tale,
Unwonted terrors Brunswick's heart assail ;
Wide starts his white wig from his royal ear,
And each particular hair stands stiff with fear.'³

The publication of the Duke of Buckingham's 'Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.' first disclosed the fact that long before the East India Bill reached the Lords, almost from its very earliest stages in the Commons, the King had been in communication with Thurlow and Temple as to the best means of destroying the Bill and the Ministry together; that of the inevitable three courses, the dismissal of Ministers while the Bill was in the Commons, the defeat of the Bill in the Lords, and its veto after passing both Houses, the

¹ *Life of W. Wilberforce*, i. 42.

² *Ibid.* i. 45.

³ *Rolliad* (ed. 1795), p. 134.

first and third were deemed too violent and dangerous. The second was decided upon long before it left the Commons. Temple's interview with the King had for its aim the devising of means to secure the requisite majority in the Upper House. The result was the composition of one of the most remarkable political documents known to our history, that in which Lord Temple was authorised by the King to say that he would regard not simply as not his friend, but as his enemy, any one who should vote for the East India Bill; and that if these words were not strong enough Lord Temple might use any others which he might deem stronger and more to the purpose.¹ They proved strong enough. The peers to whom they were administered were, according to Eden, mainly bishops, Scotch peers and Lords of the Bedchamber, 'noblemen,' to use Carlyle's phrases, 'of the usher species,' peers on their promotion or holding office during good behaviour.² A majority against the Government of eight on a dilatory motion by the Duke of Chandos, and of nineteen on the Bill itself, led to a violent outburst from Fox in the House of Commons, almost openly directed against the King, while he was still his Minister, which was followed by his dismissal and that of his colleagues. Pitt, then in his twenty-fourth year, was immediately appointed first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

What was his share in these transactions? Lord Stanhope thinks he knew nothing about them, a supposition which converts an upright and high-minded man, but after all a politician of the eighteenth century, into a monster of political innocence as portentous as the purity of his personal life, which shocked and scandalised the authors of the 'Rolliad.' The circumstantial evidence which may be gathered from what has preceded is in itself all but conclusive. A letter from Orde to Shelburne, published in Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's life of that statesman, from which it appears that Pitt was believed to have informed Shelburne of the delicate

¹ *Courts and Cabinets of George III.*, i. 279-89.

² *Auckland Correspondence*, i. 68-9.

transactions which were taking place, and especially of the King's interposition, practically settles the question. If Pitt did not apprise Shelburne of what was going on, the reason almost certainly is not that he was himself ignorant, but that he had already made up his mind to break with his old chief.¹

As to the character of the transaction, though Lord Campbell vindicates both Thurlow and the King—Temple not having been Lord Chancellor does not come in his purview—there can scarcely be two opinions.² The King owed nothing indeed to his Ministers but common honesty, and he owed that to them because he owed it to himself. The whole business closely resembles what took place in 1807, when the Grenville-Grey Ministry was destroyed on the pretext of a sudden enlightenment of the King's mind with respect to the real character of the Bill for removing certain military disabilities of Roman Catholics. The plea that the privilege of Parliament is violated not by the secret use of the King's name, but only by the use of the King's name in debate for the purpose of influencing votes, is a technical evasion which rather aggravates than diminishes the moral offence. The real iniquity, however, was not in making the King's opinion about the Bill known—it was probably known to almost everybody except the King's Ministers—but in the threat to consider, and therefore to treat, as his enemy any one who should vote for it. This was intimidation and coercion of the coarsest brutality. The mere communication of the King's opinion on a measure before Parliament does not seem very blameworthy. The Whigs have practised it whenever they thought it expedient. In 1766, as we learn from the Newcastle Letters recently published by this Society under the skilful editorship of Miss Bateson, the Rockingham Ministry urged the King to press upon his servants the necessity of voting for the Stamp Act Repeal Bill. The King evinced the strongest reluctance to interfere with the conscientious objections of lords in waiting and other

¹ Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne*, iii. 395-9.

² Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, v. 565-6.

noblemen of the usher species to a Bill which he himself disliked ; but he promised to do what he could, though without much hope of or apparently desire for success. If the expression of the King's opinion and advice to peers with the intention of influencing their votes be unconstitutional, it was as unconstitutional in 1766 as in 1784, and in 1832 as at either of the earlier dates. Sir Herbert Taylor's letter urging the Conservative lords to abandon their opposition to the Reform Bill was, on the received doctrine, as gross a breach of parliamentary privilege as Lord Temple's card.¹ The element of treachery to his Ministers, which was conspicuous in the action of George III., was indeed wanting in that of William IV. This is the vital difference between them. The contention that it is a high crime and misdemeanour to make known the King's opinion on any measure before Parliament springs from the Rockingham Whig theory that the King is a puppet ; that he has no opinion and is not entitled to one. Burke pushed this doctrine to the height of extravagance when he affirmed that the King ought not to have known that such a measure as the East India Bill was before the House of Lords, whatever its character.²

The circumstances of Pitt's recall to England in 1783 have some important points of resemblance, as well as of contrast, with those in which Sir Robert Peel was hurried from Rome in 1834. Both were summoned by special messenger to assist a King in difficulties. Pitt, as seems probable, to help in overturning a Ministry ; Peel to form an administration in place of one already overturned. Pitt was well aware, there can be no doubt, of what sooner or later was going to happen. Peel, there is reason to suppose, had a shrewd suspicion of it. It is true that he could not have foreseen the death of Lord Spencer, which, in removing Lord Althorp to the House of Lords, took from under the Government, as Lord Melbourne happily said, the tor-

¹ May's *Constitutional History* (ed. 1873), i. 144.

² *Parliamentary History*, xxiv. 947-8.

toise on which it rested. But he knew that the King was discontented with his Ministers, and was waiting only for an opportunity and pretext for getting rid of them. In the debate on the address in 1833 he had, it is true, declared that between himself and office there was a wide gulf fixed.¹ A few weeks later, however, he told Croker that if office was offered him he was ready to accept it, even though he felt sure that his administration would not last a fortnight.² In 1834, on Lord Grey's retirement, he, with the Duke of Wellington, declined to make part of a Coalition Government in which the King desired to include them together with Lord Melbourne and Lord Stanley.³ But they were ready then to form a purely Conservative administration if called upon. 'We,' Peel wrote—that is, the Duke of Wellington and himself—'took precisely the same view of the whole subject. We had no wish to take office'—the language is curiously enough similar to that of Pitt in his conversation with Thurlow—'but we were resolved if invited not to decline the responsibility, and to exhaust every constitutional means of ascertaining whether the country, or rather the constituted body, would support an administration founded on Conservative principles.'⁴ (Peel like Pitt distinguished between the House of Commons, the constituent body, and the country, which the Rockingham Whig theory lumped together.) This was in July 1834. In November the Melbourne Ministry was got rid of. There had been no communication in the interim between the King and either Peel or Wellington. But four months is not a long time. A political intention may last over it. It is difficult to imagine that in communicating to the King the conditions under which they would not take office, Peel and Wellington did not make known to him the terms on which they were willing to do so. Peel, indeed, writing on the matter after the death of the King, that is, several years after the event, thought that if he had been in England when

¹ Hansard's *Debates*, vol. xv. col. 384.

² *Croker Papers*, ii. 205.

³ *Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel* (edited by Stanhope and Cardwell), ii. 9, 10.

⁴ Peel's Note of July 23, 1834; *Memoirs* (Stanhope and Cardwell), ii. 13.

Lord Spencer died, he would have refused office.¹ He could not have dissuaded the King from parting with the Melbourne Ministry, for Melbourne's resignation had been accepted before the King entered into communication with anyone else, and it would have been difficult to persuade him to take back Ministers some of whom he disliked as intensely as George III. hated the Coalition. It is more probable that Peel would have acted in November on the intentions which he had formed in July, than on the retrospective wisdom born of failure and reflection some years later. It is difficult to believe that if there had not been a distinct understanding between Wellington and Peel, and a knowledge of that understanding on the King's part, as to what was to be done on the opportunity arising, Melbourne's conditional resignation would have been promptly accepted; that his return with his colleagues to power would have been made impossible by not allowing them to remain in office until their successors were appointed; and that the Duke of Wellington, who since 1830 had deemed it essential that the Prime Minister should be in the House of Commons, and that Peel should be the Prime Minister, would have challenged the embarrassment and danger which would have followed on Peel's refusal. Wellington was either acting on an understanding with Peel—definite in its conditions though the moment of their application was uncertain—or he was most unscrupulously endeavouring to force his hand. There was, it seems impossible to doubt, an understanding between the King and the leaders of the Opposition in 1834 as in 1783, an understanding more honourable at the later date than at the earlier one.

On the question of dissolution the two Ministers took different lines. Pitt did not dissolve, because he could not; Peel dissolved, because he could not help dissolving. Pitt took office while Parliament was sitting, and early in the session, when business had begun which must be completed,

¹ 'Memorandum on my appointment to the office of First Lord of the Treasury,' &c., *Memoirs*, ii. 16.

and which it would take some time to complete ; Peel when Parliament was in recess, and there was naturally no business to wind up or legislation to advance. Pitt had to get the supplies voted, to pass the Land Act on which the payment of the interest of the National Debt depended, and to forward other necessary business. He was met by votes of censure and want of confidence, by addresses to the Crown deprecating dissolution, praying for his removal from office, for the formation of a Ministry possessing the confidence of the House of Commons, and by dilatory and obstructive resolutions of every conceivable kind. Fourteen of these resolutions were carried against him on division after Parliament came together in January, to say nothing of resolutions which he did not think it worth while to resist. The one decisive step, however, was not taken. Fox did not venture to refuse the supplies. His reason was singular. He dared not. He had not enough confidence in Mr. Pitt to do so. That desperate character was quite capable of levying taxes without the authority of Parliament, and so completing the degradation of the House of Commons and the ruin of the country. Fox had voted, he admitted, for refusing the supplies to North, but that, he explained, was because he had every belief in North's patriotism and fidelity to the constitution.¹ The conduct of Mr. Pitt in continuing to hold office in spite of defeat after defeat and censure after censure is justifiable on two grounds : first, that he was entitled to try whether he could not in some reasonable time convert the majority against him into a minority, an experiment in which he nearly succeeded, and probably would have quite succeeded if he had cared to go on with it ; and, secondly, because he was entitled to demand the facilities which, though long denied, were in the end not withheld from him, for completing the business of the session. The governments of Lord Melbourne in 1841, of Lord Derby in 1852 and 1859, and still more remarkably that of Mr. Disraeli in 1868, acted on this principle with the consent of both sides of the House.

¹ *Parliamentary History*, xxiv. 692-3.

As to votes of want of confidence, putting aside the question that they do not affect the position of a Minister intending an appeal to the country, there is no instance of a resignation following such a vote before 1841, when the Melbourne Ministry retired at the beginning of the first session of a new Parliament which was elected in response to their own appeal to the country. Ministers previous to that date, including the first administration of Sir Robert Peel, resigned not because an adverse vote, or a series of adverse votes was considered as a notice to quit, but when and because they had given up hope of establishing a mode of living with the House of Commons—the date of the discovery being left very much to their discretion. The cases of Walpole in 1751, of North in 1782, and of Shelburne in 1783, which are sometimes referred to, are not to the point. Walpole gave way not to the hostility of the House of Commons, which he was prepared to face, but to the entreaties of his sons, brothers and friends. North was conquered not in the House of Commons but at York Town, and resigned after having defeated the votes of censure moved by Lord John Cavendish and Sir John Rous. Shelburne resigned after, but not necessarily in obedience to, the condemnation of the treaty with America, which the House of Commons while condemning it accepted, but because the coalition with either Fox or North, to which he had looked for reinforcement, was made impossible by their coalition with each other. The failure of legislative projects such as Pitt's East India Bill, which ought, it has been contended, to have led to his retirement, scarcely counted then or until long after.¹ In fact, two theories of the constitution and of parliamentary practice were face to face in the persons of Pitt and of Fox (using Fox's name to express the doctrine of the Rockinghams, rather than his own personal views which fluctuated with the controversial necessities of the moment). To Fox—it is better perhaps, for the reason just mentioned, to say Burke—resolutions of

¹ See speech of Lord John Russell, epitomised in Todd's *Parliamentary Government*, i. 132, 134.

the House of Commons were instructions binding on the Ministry; to Pitt they were expressions of opinion entitled to the utmost deference, but not necessarily to instant compliance. To Burke addresses to the Crown, though couched in the form of remonstrance or advice, were imperative mandates. In Pitt's view the advice might or might not be taken, the remonstrance might or might not be heeded. To Burke a dissolution of Parliament before the completion of its parliamentary term was an abuse of the royal prerogative. It was parliamentary murder. To appeal from the House to the country was to cast a slur on the representative element in the constitution, and to set up a mischievous rivalry between it and the constituent element. Pitt, like his father, saw behind the House of Commons the constituencies, and behind and beyond the constituencies that general public opinion by reference to which Ministers in great emergencies ought to shape their conduct. To Burke the mind of the nation could express itself only through the House of Commons. The King's habit of appealing to the sense of his people irritated him beyond the bounds of patience. Pitt saw as distinct three things which were distinct, the House of Commons, the constituencies, and the people. As Malebranche saw everything in the Divine Nature, so Burke saw everything in and through the House of Commons. Pitt held that Ministers of the Crown substantially and as a rule must be in harmony with the House of Commons, considered as a permanent part of the Constitution; Burke held that the House of Commons, with which the executive must be in accord, is any House which happens to be existing at any moment of its career.¹ On the question of votes of censure or want of confidence, the practice of our time has departed from that of Pitt's day, and there is no likelihood of any immediate recurrence to the earlier usage;

¹ See for views of Dundas, Fox, Pitt, and Burke, *Parliamentary History*, xxiv. 474-6, 573-4, 647, 658, 697, 762, 946, and Burke's *Representation to His Majesty*, moved in the House of Commons, June 14, 1784, printed in the *Parliamentary History* and reprinted in his *Collected Works*.

but, perhaps, the theory of constructive votes of want of confidence carried often in snap divisions in a half-empty house—such as an amendment on the Address expressing regret that Her Majesty has not been advised to include such or such a third-rate topic in her recommendations—might be reduced to narrower limits. Defeats or modifications of legislative measures dictated by a caucus or a class ought not always to bring down the Ministry. A larger discretion in this respect would emancipate the consciences of many individual members to whom a treble-thronged whip is as oppressive as a Temple circular, and would remove pitfalls and stumbling-blocks from the ministerial path.

It was not Sir Robert Peel's theory, as he showed afterwards, that a Minister in a minority has no right to face a hostile House of Commons. It was not for this reason that he dissolved. But when he arrived in England from Rome he found the general election practically going on, although the writs were not yet out. Candidates were in the field; election addresses were in the newspapers, a lavish expenditure was taking place, the party oracles were sanguine of success. He had difficulty as it was in forming an administration. He would, he says, have found it impossible to do so if Ministers after facing re-election on taking office had to confront the possibilities of a general election a few months or weeks afterwards. He could not avoid this danger by framing a Cabinet of Peers, he himself, after the fashion of Pitt, being the only commoner in it. He dissolved because he could not help it; and he came back a hundred stronger than he went out. He had 250 followers in a House of 658. If the practice initiated by Mr. Disraeli and followed by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, had been in force then, he would have resigned without meeting Parliament. If the practice of which the first example was given by Lord Hartington in 1859, and which was followed by Mr. Asquith in 1892, of moving a vote of censure without assigning any reasons, that is to say—moving a count of heads—had been in vogue, he would have been put out of his

misery on the first night or in the first week of the session. He resolved to face the music. He went on, censured for dissolving, but not resigning, enduring defeat after defeat, but still persisting in his design of conquering, if possible, the confidence of the House. After three defeats on the Irish Church Temporalities question he resigned, not because they conveyed an instruction with which he could not comply, but which he would, in other circumstances, have been prepared to disregard, but because, coming after a series of other defeats, they showed him that the attempt to turn his minority into a majority in any reasonable time was hopeless ; but still more because, by hampering the action of the executive, they made it impossible for him to govern Ireland. It was a question of ability to carry on the King's Government.¹ If Pitt's conduct was unconstitutional much more so was that of Peel. Pitt held on in an old Parliament, constantly reducing the majorities against him, until he could dissolve. Peel faced a new Parliament, which was in itself a national vote of want of confidence in him, because he held that the King's right to choose and maintain his Ministers was not to be set aside by anything less than the continued and pronounced hostility of a House of Commons, which, having been just elected under his auspices, it was impossible for him to dissolve. The example has no present application. We have changed all that, no doubt on the whole for the better. But the instance shows how recent is the growth of what are now sometimes considered to be maxims of government coeval with the Constitution, and what an immense falsification of history is involved in judging by them the conduct of statesmen not merely of the eighteenth, but of the first half of the nineteenth, century. In one sense Pitt marked the transition from the old system to the new. He broke down alike the system of Government by connections, and that of Government by the personal influence of the Crown. When he expelled Thurlow from the Cabinet, the last vestige of

¹ See *Croker Papers*, ii. 270 ; Parker's *Sir Robert Peel*, ii. 292-302.

secret influence disappeared. He was the first great parliamentary Minister who governed by public opinion controlling and directing all the powers of the State. Changing circumstances may bring about modifications of usages not much more than half a century old ; and especially may restore a sound political discrimination between a Ministry as the organ of a party and as the representative of the Crown. Lord Salisbury's or Lord Rosebery's Administration is one thing ; Her Majesty's Government is another. The distinction may perhaps have effect given to it by some diminution of the usurpation by the executive on the legislative independence of Parliament, and of the intrusion, which Mr. Gladstone to his latest days deplored, of the Legislature upon executive functions.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF DOUBLE MONASTERIES.

BY MISS MARY BATESON

I.—INQUIRY CONCERNING THE EARLIEST EXAMPLES

M. VARIN'S learned monograph¹ at present stands alone as an attempt to ascertain the origin of the double monastery, or monastery for men and women. He deals with the subject incidentally as part of a thesis on the points at issue between the Breton and Roman Church, and he handles his whole theme controversially. In spite of this fact, his argument on the subject of double monasteries has met with general acceptance, for example, from Montalembert,² Ozanam,³ Haddan,⁴ Professor Mayor,⁵ and M. Maurice Prou.⁶ M. Varin seeks to prove that St. Rhadegund's foundation at Poitiers was the first example of this form of organisation among the Western nations of the Continent, and that its origin is directly traceable to Irish influences. It is the object of this essay to suggest a different conclusion, to collect the evidence on the subject from the scattered sources where alone it is at present accessible, and incidentally to criticise the arguments adduced by M. Varin.

It is imperative in the first place to establish a definition of the half-technical term 'double monastery.' The association

¹ *Mémoire sur les causes de la dissidence entre l'Eglise bretonne et l'Eglise romaine.* Published in the *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.* Paris, 1858: pp. 165–205 deal with double monasteries.

² *Moines d'Occident*, ii. 355.

³ *Oeuvres*, iv. 120.

⁴ *Remains*, p. 277.

⁵ Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. iv. p. 317.

⁶ *La Gaule Mérovingienne*, p. 139.

of the two sexes under particular conditions for a special purpose gives the double monastery its peculiar character. There is no promiscuous mixing of the sexes; the monastery is double, not mixed. The amount of association is small compared with the amount of separation, though association is the distinguishing feature. Early in the sixth century, and perhaps earlier, those religious houses in which men and women served God together were known as 'monasteria duplia,'¹ and the term has since been used to describe monasteries in which a society of 'regular' priests ministered to the spiritual needs of 'regular' women.² This is the one essential and original character. Later on, contiguity to a common church, in which the monastic services, or parts of them, were held for both sexes, ultimately acquires the force of a specific character. Other determining features become more defined as time goes on; one feature may become specific in one country, or environment, others in another. But in seeking the germ of the institution it is needful to ignore the forms of late varieties, and to concentrate attention on the one essential quality which converts a religious house from a monastery for men, or a convent for women, into a double monastery. In the matter of contiguity, in the number of common religious services, in the use of a common church, in the subjection to a common organisation affecting a large or a small area of conduct, in the nature of the rule, in the superiority of an abbess or an abbot,—in all these points usage varied, and of these variations more will be said later. Early examples of the simple form of organisation are not far to seek, and their origin requires, I believe, no very elaborate explanation.

The practice of placing the houses of nuns in the immediate vicinity of houses of monks is as old as Christian

¹ *Corp. Jur. Civ.* (Krueger), Codex I. iii. 43.

² The word has also been applied to the twin monasteries of men, such as Wearmouth and Jarrow, in which the bond of union was spiritual (Beda, *Vit. Abbat.*), or to such as Cassiodorus' Viviers with Castellum, in which only monks who had been trained in the first and had shown themselves of peculiar merit were admitted to the second. Mabillon, *Annales*, i. 125.

monasticism, and the reason for it is obvious. No monastery could celebrate mass without a priest, and although, as a rule, the early monks were not priests, yet every monastery must perforce contain a sufficient number of priests to conduct its religious services. The ministrations of priests were equally necessary to nunneries, and accordingly we find that those of the founders of Christian monasticism who had devout sisters, allowed them to organise female communities in their neighbourhood, which could be served by the priests of the male community.

It is reported of St. Pachomius, the first Egyptian monk who is said to have written a rule,¹ that in the fourth century, after he had founded monasteries for men, under the government of men, he gathered many virgins from divers provinces and of all classes, and divided them into three congregations, so that they worked and ate separately, but worshipped together. The Nile lay between the dwellings of the men and those of the women, but there was not entire separation. The nuns' dwellings were built by the monks, and Pachomius' sister, who ruled the nuns, was permitted to speak with her brother through a closed door. Pachomius appointed Peter,² a man advanced in years, to visit the nuns and sustain them with holy exhortation. Pachomius wrote a rule for them, and arranged that they should live in every way like his monks, using only a different dress. If any of the monks were related to the nuns, they might meet in the presence of an elder monk of approved life, the abbess also being present. If the nuns needed help for building or some other similar purpose, they might employ the same men who undertook to provide for the monks' building requirements, but these workers must return to the monks' house at the hour of refection. When a nun died, her body was rowed across the Nile by monks, and she was buried in the monks' cemetery.

¹ See Amélineau, *Etude Historique sur S. Pachome d'après les monuments coptes*, who accepts it. Cf. also his *Vie de Schnoudi*, who governed 2,200 men and 1,800 women.

² *Vit. Pachom.* c. 28, in Migne's *Pat. Lat.* lxxiii. col. 248.

At a later period, the burial of monks and nuns in one cemetery will often be found to be characteristic of the double monastery.¹

In the history of St. Basil and his sister Macrina, we stand on sure ground. The nature of the relation between the communities of Basil and Macrina may be learned from Basil's rules, and from the life of Macrina, written by her brother, Gregory Nyssen. As in the case of Pachomius' foundations, the communities were on opposite banks of the river (Iris), and Macrina's nunnery is believed to have been in the village of Annesi near Neo-Cæsarea, and founded 357 A.D. In her nunnery lived her mother, and her younger brother Peter, who in 371 was ordained priest.

St. Basil's rules were written in the form of question and answer, and refer frequently to the conduct of monks with nuns.² He asks: May the head of the monastery (who is also called senior and prefect) speak with any virgins other than the head of the sisters (also called senior abbess and mother) on matters of faith? May he speak often with the abbess? When a sister confesses to a priest, should the mother of the monastery be present? May she be angry if the priest orders the sisters to do anything without her knowledge? The answers are all in general terms urging monks and nuns to avoid giving any ground of offence or scandal. Chosen seniors may talk with chosen sisters advanced in years on matters which concern them. The contingency is contemplated in which the number of brethren may be so small that they must serve the nuns singly, and the dangers this may lead to are guarded against. From the express statement that one of the regulations for monks is to apply to the sisters (that touching the distribution of offices), it may be presumed that St. Basil's rules for men were made to apply to them. The nuns appear to have had a separate church,

¹ The nuns of Barking, after the plague had ravaged the male side of the house, prepared for themselves a separate burial ground. Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 7.

² The chief passages are *Reg. brev. capit.* 108–111, 104, 154, 220; *Reg. Fus. Tract.*, Nov. 15, 33; Migne *Patr. Græc. Lat.* xxxi.

for Gregory tells how he found the 'chorus of virgins' modestly awaiting him there when he came to visit his dying sister. Boys and girls appear to have been taught together in schools attached to St. Basil's house, for in reply to the question, at what age may boys devote themselves to the religious life, Basil speaks of the schools in which the monks must educate them as children, and adds that the boys and girls must be separated for meals, and have separate dwellings.

Over the fifth century in East and West a cloud of darkness descends, and we seek in vain for any description of a monastic house for women, which is sufficiently detailed to give evidence on this question. St. Augustine's letter to the nuns,¹ who sought to depose Felicitas, does not state whether or no the services of the nunnery, which he had founded at Hippo for his sister, traditionally called Perpetua, were conducted by monastics or not. Palladius, writing in 420 of his stay in Rome in 405, speaks of the virgin Asella² as presiding over many religious persons, husbands and wives, teaching them the lives and habits of monks; but this may be merely a description of ascetics living in their own homes. St. Martin admitted a man and his wife to his community at Marmoutier, which was organised after the Eastern fashion as a group of hermitages, in which a solitary rather than a common life under definite rule and discipline was the ideal. It is supposed that there was a separate group of hermits for women,³ but evidence is wanting.

A definite utterance on the subject is made in 506, when the Council of Agde⁴ (c. 28) forbade men to place nunneries in the neighbourhood of men's cloisters for fear of Satan's cunning and people's gossip. At this council St. Cæsarius of Arles was present. The rule which he afterwards wrote for the nuns of the house which he founded at *Arles* is the first Western rule for nuns. It was afterwards followed,

¹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxxiii. col. 958.

² *Dict. Christian Biog.* s.v.

³ Dupuy, *Hist. de S. Martin*, 1882, p. 176.

⁴ Agde is in Languedoc, near the coast of the Mediterranean.

alone or with others, in double monasteries. Was this nunnery associated with a monastery for men? The answer up to the present time has been in the negative, but I think it may be questioned whether this negative is adequately established.

After the Council of Agde,¹ Cæsarius, then bishop of Arles, founded a nunnery outside the walls of the town in the suburb now known as Aliscamps.² In authority over it he placed his sister Cæsarea, who up to that time had been at a nunnery in Marseilles, founded by Cassian, the famous collector of Eastern rules, adapted to the use of the West. The exact site of the nunnery of Marseilles is uncertain, and its organisation unknown.³ The new nunnery was destroyed by Franks and Burgundians, and when Cæsarius re-created it, he placed it within the town wall, doubtless for purposes of security. It must be at once admitted that there is no direct evidence that a monastery for men was in contiguity with that for nuns, or that the priests of this monastery served the nuns. On the other hand, there is no direct evidence to the contrary,⁴ for the clause of the rule⁵ which orders no man to enter the nuns' house but the bishop, the provisor, the priest, deacon and subdeacon, and one or two readers of suitable age and life, to celebrate masses, can hardly refer to masses within the church which was divided into three naves, each with a separate dedication, and, doubtless, separate altars. It refers, we must believe, to masses said at the oratories within the nunnery, not within the great church. It is from the description of this great church that the chief indication of the existence of a monastery for monks, dedicated to St. John, is adducible. The authors of the life

¹ Arnold, *Cæsarius von Arelate*, p. 246.

² Malnory, *S. Césaire*, in the Bibl. de l'école des hautes études, 1894, p. 259.

³ *Gall. Christ.* i. 695.

⁴ The chapter of the Recapitulatio which speaks of the 'clericis de S. Maria' as taking the body of a dead nun to the church is not in the more authentic edition of Holsten and Brockie; it appears to be given only in *Acta SS. Bolland*, January, I. 736.

⁵ Holsten and Brockie, *Codex Reg.* i. 393.

of St. Cæsarius, written for his niece, the Abbess Cæsarea, an undoubtedly authentic work, describe events happening 'in this monastery of St. John, for so it was called, though the church was three in one, that is, it contained under one roof a basilica, whose centre was dedicated to St. Mary, and on either side were parts dedicated to St. John and St. Martin.'¹ Now, the church in which the nuns heard mass and were buried was St. Mary's. St. Cæsarius was buried in St. Mary's. The confusion in St. Cæsarius' will² between his foundations, St. John's and St. Mary's, may be explained easily enough if it be supposed that his monks were at St. John's, his nuns at St. Mary's, associated for common services in the triple church. Such an arrangement, as will be shown below, was usual in the later double monasteries, and it was usual to dedicate the nunnery to the Virgin, the monastery to an apostle. No nun might leave the walls of the house alive. Dead, her body was carried forth to the church of St. Mary.³ The church of the nuns would surely have been within the walls of the nunnery, unless it were necessary to admit to it a congregation of monks. And if St. Cæsarius' monks were not at St. John's, where were they? It has been supposed that they were on a certain 'insula suburbana,' where St. Cæsarius was abbot before he became bishop. But all trace of this island is gone. In the will of St. Cæsarius he makes his legacies to the monastery of St. John, which he founded, 'cum consensu fratrum'; and he pleads with his successor in the archiepiscopate, that the holy congregation may have no provisor for the monastery, or priest for the church of St. Mary, but those of their own choosing.

St. Cæsarius' successor, Aurelian, also wrote a rule for nuns of a house of St. Mary, which he claims to have 'made'.⁴ The rule seems to be merely elucidatory to that of St. Cæsarius, and is in all likelihood for the same house. He

¹ Mabillon, *Acta*, Sec. I. 658.

² Holsten and Brockie, i. 353. See Arnold, p. 418, on the faultiness of the only known versions of this text.

³ *Acta SS. Bolland*, August, II. 664, on the funeral of St. Rusticola.

⁴ Holsten, i. 370.

draws a distinction between services at St. Mary's and services at an inner oratory; in sharp winter weather he bids the nuns say fewer services in the large church. It may well have happened that St. Cæsarius and his successors found that the order of the Council of Agde could not be kept. The need for the protection of nunneries, for placing them in towns, may well have necessitated further their close association with the monasteries.

The next evidence obtainable¹ upon the subject is negative. In Justinian's Codex,² 529, he forbade all who dwelt in monasteries with nuns to converse with them or to devise cause for communicating with them, for it excited just suspicion that they should converse assiduously with them and should be free to do so. The sexes were to be separated, so that there might be no dealings of any kind between them. Men were to live in separate monasteries apart from nuns, who, for whatever reason, had attached themselves to them; the women also were to be by themselves, that all suspicion of indecorous conduct might be removed. Movable and immovable property which they had hitherto held in common was to be divided. For the necessities of the women, the bishop was to appoint an elder, a priest, and a deacon of honest life who should celebrate mass for them, but should not dwell with them. But in the Novellae (554), the 'monasteria duplia' are again referred to, and still as recognised abuses. Monks and nuns (*monastriæ*) are forbidden to dwell together, and monasteries must not be 'duplia ut appellantur.' Where such already exist, they must be divided, and separate buildings provided. Men must not be buried in nunneries; when the services of men are required for the burial of nuns, only the female gate-keeper (*ostiaria*) and the abbess (*antistes*), if she wish it, may be present at the ceremony. In the 'memoria' or commemo-

¹ Beaume les Dames, where the founder, Romanus, was buried in the nuns' cemetery, may deserve a mention. *Gall. Christ.* xv. 204; Mabillon, *Annales*, i. 24, and on the chronology, see Malnory, *S. Césaire*, p. 263.

² *Corp. Jur. Civ.* (Krueger), Codex I. iii. 43.

ratory feasts which follow burial, the monks and nuns may not meet; each anniversary must be celebrated by the sexes in separation.¹

It does not appear that the ultimate source of these laws is known, and if double monasteries were in existence in Western Europe, it may well be doubted whether they would be suppressed in consequence of the Byzantine Emperor's decree.²

It remains to establish the existence of double monasteries in the West during the sixth century. If the evidence adduced touching Arles is inconclusive, the evidence concerning the most famous example of a sixth century double monastery in Gaul is no less so. If Arles was not double, we may well doubt whether Poitiers was double. Both were under the same rule; both contained the same number of nuns, 200; care was taken to model Poitiers exactly upon Arles. The proof of doubleness depends in both cases upon a careful analysis of indirect evidence. Of direct evidence there is none. If, as I believe, Varin was right in accepting Poitiers as double, he was wrong in rejecting Arles, for which no shadow of an Irish origin can be suggested. The shadow of Irish origin in the case of Poitiers is that St. Fridolin is said to have visited Poitiers. It is not even stated that he founded a nunnery there. Varin's idea that he suggested to Rhadegund the notion of a double monastery, out of the fulness of his knowledge of Irish double monasteries, may be summarily dismissed, inasmuch as we do not know in what century he lived.³ Concerning his foundation at Säckingen,

¹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.* lxxii. col. 1046.

² Leunclavius, *Jus. Gr. Lat.* i. 432, quoted by Prof. Mayor. Part of the 'Mandatum quod dari solet metropolitano et archiepiscopo quum ordinatur,' undated, orders old and chaste eunuchs to be sought out to teach women in seminaries, that the women may be removed from the temptations found in the commerce of worldly men and in double monasteries, as they are called.

³ Wattenberg, *Geschichtsquellen* (1893) i. 121; Rettberg, *Kirchengesch.* ii. 29; Hauck, *Kirchengesch.* i. 309; Loofs, *Ant. Brit. Scot. Eccles.* p. 90; *Allgem. deut. Biog.* vii. 385, all reject the biography, not only as chronologically utterly unreliable, but also as a worthless and fictitious account of a real Irishman named Fridolin, whose existence alone is certain. Hefele, *Einführung des Christenthums in S.W. Deutschlands*, p. 243, sqq., and Pothast, *Bibl. Hist.*

a word more must be said below in connection with German double monasteries.

It appears that at Poitiers there was a house of nuns dedicated to the Holy Cross, 566, and a house of monks separated from it by the town wall, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and after Rhadegund's death, her name was added to the dedication. Rhadegund was buried in the church of the monastery for men, but direct evidence of association between the houses is absent.¹ The nearest approach to evidence comes rather from the character of the correspondence between Fortunatus and Rhadegund than from any explicit statement. There is some reason to believe that Fortunatus was a monk, and a monk of St. Mary's, but the wildly hyperbolical language which he uses makes it difficult to use his writings as historical material. One writer² concludes that he and Rhadegund were living together in a monastery on an island, because he writes, in answer to a letter from Felix of Nantes, that he is sleeping by the water's side, when he is roused by the eloquence of Felix, who tells him he is a prisoner to his lady Rhadegund's affection. 'You think of it (his captivity), I know, not as due to my merit, but as according to her usual goodness, in which all share, and if, when you treat of me, you use poetical exaggerations, when you praise her you use a historian's exactness.'

Fortunatus seems to have been the director and councillor of the nuns, travelling on business in their interests. Rhadegund's letter to the bishops about the rights of her monastery shows the need she had of skill in the conduct of temporal affairs.³ He wrote a letter of thanks to Justin II. for them,

Med. & Ev. p. 1322, defend the biography; and Haddan (*Remains*) notes that the dedications of churches round Säckingen to St. Hilary and St. Fridolin offer some evidence in favour of the story.

¹ Varin's point, p. 193, that Arnegisil is described as abbot of the church of the Blessed Queen, and that the nuns had therefore both an abbot and an abbess, arises from his confusion of the dedications.

² Nisard, *Poésies de Fortunat*, p. 107

³ Greg. Turon. ix. 42.

and also many others. To Agnes, the abbess, he writes : 'I am resolved to live with you as I have done till now, if you will continue your friendship to me,' but that he did not live in the same house with them is certain, for he laments on the subject.¹ He promises to work from morning till night at Rhadegund's orders ; he will draw water, tend the vines and garden, and roast himself before the kitchen fire as she does, or wash up the plates and dishes. He cannot bear to think that she is lifting heavy weights, lighting fires, and doing all the menial duties of the house. He sends her baskets of his own plaiting, part, perhaps, of his monastic employment. He hopes the abbess Agnes will frequently mention him in her converse with the sisters, that he may feel more really that she is his mother.

A large part of the correspondence is taken up with thanks for presents of food, flowers, fruit, and the like from Rhadegund and Agnes, and with verses sent to them with similar gifts. Fortunatus often alludes to his love of eating, and it must be admitted that no trace of asceticism appears in his poetry, where he indulges in rhapsodies on the splendid dishes of meat with vegetables swimming in rich sauce, and the dishes made by the abbess' own hands, which he enjoyed at their table.

One servant could not carry all the dishes they sent him (xi. 9). A feast was on one occasion provided for the nuns at his request. He wrote urging Rhadegund to take wine, which Cæsarius' rule allowed under special circumstances. Writing to Agnes he asked her to do those duties for Rhadegund which his absence prevented him from rendering. But had he not been a monk of St. Mary's he would hardly have expressed a hope that he would be buried in the same tomb with these ladies.

The relations of the three friends recall in some measure those of Boniface of Mainz and his female correspondents, dwellers in double monasteries, but the basis of Fortunatus' friendships was clearly less spiritual. That so much freedom

¹ Nisard, *Poésies de Fortunat*, p. 277.

was possible to him makes it more than likely that he stood in some official relation to Rhadegund, and that he was a monk serving St. Cross.

Nothing in the disturbances and scandals that followed St. Rhadegund's death serves to elucidate the relations of the monasteries of St. Cross and St. Mary, and leaving the question of the doubleness of Arles and of Poitiers open, we may pass to the subsequent evidence.

Even if Arles and Poitiers be rejected, it is still possible to point to fairly well authenticated sixth century cases, which show no Irish connection, and long preceded Columban's arrival in Gaul.¹ Thus, for example, at *Autun*, Eugendus, about 510, ruled monks and about 60 nuns, who gathered round his cell;² by the end of the century the monastery of St. Martin on the River Tarnec was closely associated with the nunnery dedicated to St. Mary and St. John, now called St. John le Grand. Both houses were founded by Bishop Syagrius (d. circ. 600) and his sister Brunechild. Both received from Gregory the Great privileges couched in the same terms.³ That monks ministered to the nuns seems probable from the entry in a New Testament, dated 589, that it was written by order of Fausta, second abbess of St. Mary's, at the request of Fulculf (monk). When the nun Chrodielde left Poitiers with others she placed one of the nuns, Constantia, in this house.⁴ St. Cæsarius' rule was used here as at Poitiers.⁵

There is no doubt⁶ that *Durin*, near Nantes, founded about 575 by St. Martin of Vertou, was double; it is called

¹ Cap. 26 of the Council of Auxerre, 585, is sometimes referred to as an instance of a decree against double monasteries. The text will not bear this interpretation.

² Mabillon, *Acta, Sacra, I.* 571.

³ Baluze, *Misc. ii. 12*; *Gall. Christ. iv.* 479.

⁴ Greg. Turon. ix. c. 40; Mabillon, *Ann. i.* 203.

⁵ Malnory, p. 278.

⁶ The case of Estival-en-Charnie sometimes given as an example is not susceptible of proof. Mabillon, *Ann. i.* 191. The nuns were under the protection of the founder Bertichram's house for monks at Le Mans, c. 585. Equally doubtful is the case of Clotilda's little house of nuns at the gates of St. Martin's monastery, c. 531; *Gall. Christ. xiv.* 187; Mabillon, *Acta, Sacra, I.* 101.

by Martin's earliest biographer a 'chorus of the athletes of God and of chaste virgins.'¹

A double monastery is first heard of at *Metz* in connection with the Irish mission, but it did not owe its double organisation to Columban's initiative. In the time of Theodoric and Theodebert, a nun, Waldrada, had had a nunnery built for her by a relative within the walls of Metz, which was refounded in 604 by St. Glodesinda, and dedicated to St. Peter as well as other saints. The cathedral church was dedicated to St. John, afterwards to St. Arnulph, and the nuns had sepulture in the cemetery of the monks of St. Arnulph, to whom the nunnery was subject,² and by whom they were served with 'heavenly pasture.' The church of St. Peter, afterwards called St. Glodesinda's, is sometimes styled 'Subterius,' to contrast with St. Arnulph's, which is 'Superius.'³ The two churches were separated from each other by a short distance,⁴ and, to avoid the difficulty this created, a new church, dedicated to St. Mary, was founded 25 years after Glodesinda's death.⁵ This was outside the walls of the town, and the nuns had a passage through from their nunnery, which faced the wall on the inside.

From the evidence here collected there seems to be some reason to believe that double monasteries were institutions known to Gaul when St. Columban and his Irish disciples landed and preached a great religious revival. As a result of their influence a large number of monasteries were founded, and among them were some of the largest and most famous double monasteries. But it will become clear when the Irish evidence is dealt with that St. Columban's followers introduced no new and peculiarly Irish system of monastic organisation when they founded such houses. They arose,

¹ *Ann.* i. 258; *Acta*, I. 173. Varin, p. 203, endeavours to show that St. Martin was copying Poitiers, but there is no evidence.

² *Gall. Christ.* xiii. 927 (new ed.), pp. 893, 677.

³ *Martene, Thes. Anecd.* iii. 1201.

⁴ *Acta SS. Bolland*, July, VI. 216c; Mabillon, *Acta*, II. 1088.

⁵ *Acta*, II. 1088. St. Glodesinda had 100 nuns in her house. When she was veiled at St. Stephen's, Metz, flocks 'servorum, ancillarumque' were present.

it would seem, in many countries and at many times as the natural sequel to an outburst of religious enthusiasm.

In Gaul, after the strong revival of the seventh century, the double monastery fell into decay, and was revived only after a considerable interval. In England it will be shown that they began in the second half of the seventh century, and ceased to exist in the eighth; Germany developed them in the eighth; Ireland had one, Kildare, in the eighth, whether any that were earlier is very doubtful; in Spain, where the family monastery existed in the seventh century, the fullest development came in the second half of the ninth century. This was the last group of the first period to develop the monastic ideal of chaste living in perfection.

II.—DOUBLE MONASTERIES IN GAUL IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Of the great double monasteries of the seventh century, due to the stimulus of the Irish immigration, none owed their origin to St. Columban himself. All the monasteries founded by him were for men only. A poem by him has sometimes been quoted to show that he was a woman-hater:

In Mulieres.

Omnis mente pius fugiat mortale venenum
Quod mulieris habet lingua superba malae.
Conlatum vita destruxit femina culmen,
Femina sed vita gaudia longe dedit.

But it has been cleverly shown that the 'mulier' and 'femina' of the second and third line refer to Eve, the 'femina' of the last to the Virgin Mary.¹

St. Columban dedicated Burgundofara or Fara, when a child, to the religious life, but she first took the habit from his successor in the abbacy of Luxeuil, Eustace, 614. She founded the monastery of *Brie* (*Eboriacum*), to the South-East of Paris, in the diocese of Meaux, under the guidance of

¹ But Gundlach in *Neues Archiv.*, N.S. 15, 514, gives reason for thinking that it is not Columban's work.

her brother Chagnoald, then a monk of Columban's house of Luxeuil, and of Waldebert, afterwards abbot of Luxeuil.¹ She began the house in 617, and as she lived there herself it was called after her, Faremoutier. There, too, lived Chagnoald (afterwards Bishop of Laon), Waldebert, Eustasius, Jonas, the writer of Columban's life, and other monks. In this monastery of men and women, the infirm, and those distinguished for probity of life, had separate cells.

Beda speaks of the men as living 'in aliis aediculis.' The church in which the nuns were buried was dedicated to St. Stephen,² and this was probably the principal church. In Fara's will she speaks of another church dedicated to God and St. Mary. At the translation of St. Earcongota's body to a higher place in the church of St. Stephen, brethren and sisters were present.³ It is clear that this was one of the houses in which an abbess ruled both men and women, for in Jonas' lives of the nuns of Brie we are told that no distinction between the sexes was recognised, the abbess treated male and female as equal. Confession was made three times daily to the abbess, and she had power to excommunicate.

Jonas mentions other Saxon nuns in this house beside those named by Beda. One, Wilsinda, miraculously recited the whole of the books of Moses and also all the Gospels. The discipline was so severe that some of the new nuns attempted to escape by ladders from the dormitory.

It was at Faremoutier that Agrestius, one of the Columban monks, tried to get the rule of St. Columban rejected, but without success, for he was instead himself ejected.⁴ Before Fara's death, about 655 or 660, the Benedictine rule was combined with Columban's as the rule of the house.⁵ St. Fara made her will 632; it is still extant, and shows that abbesses under Columban's rule could dispose of their private property.⁶

¹ *Acta*, Sec. II. 25.

² *Ann.* i. 305.

³ Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 8.

⁴ *Acta*, Sec. II. 121.

⁵ *Hist. Eccles. Meld.* i. 27, 642.

⁶ Bourges, the centre of a cluster of monasteries, may have had a double monastery at the time when St. Bertoara (c. 612) and St. Dutrille, Bishop of

The account of Romaric's foundation at *Remiremont* in the Vosges, 620, offers more than the mere glimpse at the nature of these houses which is all that the chance references in saints' lives generally afford. Romaric was a monk of Luxeuil, and left to found a nunnery on his property. He was moved to do this by the influence of Amatus, formerly a monk of Agaun, who left Luxeuil with Romaric, and organised the new house as a double monastery, in which the 'laus perennis' was instituted as at Agaun. The nuns were divided into seven groups of twelve nuns each, who in turns kept up the perpetual psalmody. The number of brethren under the rule of Amatus was probably not so large. All his 'servi' and 'servuli' had retired with him and joined the monastic life, and the monks served the nuns in a church dedicated to St. Mary. The psalmody of the nuns was kept up in a church dedicated to St. Peter. Over the nuns Amatus appointed an abbess, Mactefled, but Amatus, as abbot, also had disciplinary powers over the nuns. He decreed in what vessels they should keep their milk, where they should put their bees, and other details in which implicit obedience was expected. A nun who ate an apple without the leave of the senior found herself in difficulties.

Amatus led the life of a hermit during most of the time, but came out of his cell on Sundays and read the Scriptures either with the brethren or with the sisters. At his death-bed both monks and nuns were present. He was buried at the entrance to the church of St. Mary, and there was much weeping in the 'little cells' of the brethren and sisters.

At Romaric's deathbed, 653, monks and nuns were present, and he was buried in the church of St. Peter, the lights of which were looked after by the women. His successor was Adelphius, who afterwards retired to Luxeuil, where he died 670. His body was brought back to Remire-

Bourges, with his successor St. Sulpice (624-644), were closely associated. *Acta, Sac. II.* 97, 173; *Ann. i.* 297; Labbe, *Nova Bibl. MSS.* ii. 364. Theodulfus Bobolenus' foundation at Charenton may have been served by monks. *Gall. Christ. ii.* 121, 175.

mont for burial, and was met by the Abbess Tetta and Adelphius' successor, Garichram, with a flock of monks and nuns in procession. At his funeral the deacons, the procurator of the monastery, and the nuns heard celestial voices in the church when mass was said. A sister who was in the church of St. Peter heard sounds as if mass were being sung, and collected the sisters to listen. At first they thought it was the brethren celebrating mass whom they heard, but the sounds were found to be miraculous. The lives of the abbots were written at the request of abbesses. In a ninth-century necrology containing the names of monks and nuns it is stated that the work was begun at the wish of both abbot and abbess.¹

The union of the house of Remiremont with Luxeuil was for a time disturbed by the monk Agrestius, mentioned above, who opposed the rule of Columban. He gained the support of Romaric for a time, but eventually lost it.² Among the distinguished recluses of Remiremont may be named Arnulf of Metz (see above), who died 640.³ Ultimately the nuns moved from the hill to the banks of the Moselle, where their subsequent history is of interest in other connections.

A monastery modelled on the pattern of that of St. Cæsarea of Arles was Donatus' foundation for his mother Flavia at *Besançon*, now called St. Joussan's, 624.⁴ Donatus was a friend and disciple of Eustace at Luxeuil, and for the nuns of Besançon, under their first abbess Gauthstruda, Donatus wrote an *enchiridion* of the rules of St. Cæsarius, St. Benedict, and St. Columban. No children under the age of six were to be admitted. The rules which affect the relations of the sexes are taken from St. Cæsarius' rule. Flavia and her daughter succeeded as abbesses.

Another large double monastery was founded at *Jouarre*, in the department of Seine et Marne, by the brothers Ado

¹ *N. Archiv. f. ältere Gesch. kunde*, xix. 49.

² *Ann.* i. 338, 425, 503.

³ *Acta, Sec. II.* 151; Bonnell, *Anfänge*, p. 143.

⁴ *Acta, Sec. II.* 335; *Ann.* i. 328; *Gall. Christ.* xv. 15.

and Dado, disciples of St. Columban, 634. The women were placed under Theodechilde, an abbess who had been a nun at Faremoutier, cousin of Ado and Dado. Close to Jouarre was the house of *Rebais* for monks, and another, Reuil, all on the river Marne. The chief church of the nuns was dedicated to St. Mary, but the nuns' mass was celebrated in the men's church, dedicated to St. Peter.¹ At these joint houses of Jouarre and Rebais many Irish and English became monks. Here Angilbert, formerly Bishop of Winchester and a pupil of the Irish schools, retired, and so, too, St. Hilda's sister Hereswitha.

The monastery was connected with, and subsequently sent nuns as abbesses to, the neighbouring double houses of Chelles, Soissons, and Nivelle, where abbess Salaberga of Laon is said to have been cured of blindness by Agilus, abbot of Rebais. Agilus had formerly been a monk of Luxeuil, a disciple of Eustace. Agilus' successor was Filibert, afterwards founder of Jumièges (see below).

In the lives of the founders of the double monasteries of Gaul there are but few hints on the method of life pursued in them. The life of St. Salaberga of *Laon* is the most instructive on this point.² She was converted by Eustace of Luxeuil, and under the influence of Walbert, Eustace's successor in the abbacy, she founded a house for girls in a suburb of Lingon, at no very great distance from Luxeuil. There in 640 she collected a hundred or more girls, children of the nobility. The house was moved to Laon, because it was a stronger place and a walled town. Salaberga laid the foundations of seven churches, and collected three hundred nuns, and she divided them into groups, after the pattern of the monks of Agaun and Remiremont, for the establishment of a perpetual service. Though the house of Salaberga is always called a double monastery, it would appear that the houses of men and women were not contiguous, but some distance apart; yet that Salaberga was regarded as abbess of the house of men is clear. She summons Italus, priest

¹ *Acta*, Sec. II. 317, 324.

² *Acta*, ii. 421.

and *prior* of her monastery, to come and witness a miracle.¹ One day, whilst she was walking in the cloister of the convent *outside the city walls*, she saw a monk, Lanfred, her gardener, working in the garden, and pulling out noxious weeds, whereupon she said softly, that none of the sisters might hear, 'Bring us some lettuces, Brother Lanfred.' The miracle was that her voice, inaudible to the sisters, should have carried so far, for the space between them was more than eight hundred yards (four stadii). Salaberga was succeeded by a nun, Anstrude,² aged twenty, who was famous for her learning and teaching.³ Her brother Baldwin, a deacon of the house, superintended its temporal affairs.

Without including the houses formed after the type of the family monastery, common in Spain,⁴ there may be added to the above list a house at Rheims,⁵ 628 ; one at Avenay, near Rheims ;⁶ and St. Julien lez Auxerre.⁷

The *Regula Cujusdam*⁸ seems to be a rule for a double monastery ; it probably belongs to a date subsequent to Columban. It contains some points which show Benedictine influence. In this rule the monks are ordered to help the sisters with alms and presents, and not often to visit or talk to them.⁹ The abbess is authorised to receive the confessions of the sisters, or seniors delegated by her may do so.

The three double monasteries of the school of Columban in Gaul to which English ladies and princesses were sent were Brie, Chelles, and Andelys. Brie has been spoken of above. Of *Andelys*, in the diocese of Rouen, nothing is known save that it was founded by Queen Clotilda. *Chelles*, ten miles from Paris, on the river Marne, was founded by Queen Bathilda,¹⁰ upon a supposed sixth-century foundation of Queen Clotilda's.¹¹ According to Beda, Hereswitha, wife

¹ He read the office for her as she lay dying.

² *Ann.* i. 440.

¹ *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 444.

⁴ Donaticum on the Doubs, 629, for example. *Ann.* i. 348.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 345-468.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Gall. Christ.* xii. 269, 415 ; *Acta SS.* Bolland, April, I. p. 864 ; *Ann.* i. 366.

⁸ Holsten, i. 223.

⁹ Cap. xviii.

¹⁰ *Gall. Christ.* vii. 558.

of an East Anglian king and sister of St. Hilda, was at this monastery about 650; no other record of its existence is forthcoming until the time when Queen Bathilda reorganised it. Bathilda brought to rule her house an abbess, and nuns from the Columban house of Jouarre. The Abbess Bertila had lived there under Abbess Teutleilda 'sub norma sanctæ regulæ,' and had acquired a high reputation for her skill in governing, and care to avoid conflicts of opinion. Chelles was at first a group of cells about a small oratory, but the queen and abbess greatly enlarged it. The queen herself served in the house under the abbess, and took upon herself the most menial offices.¹ According to tradition, Bathilda herself was of English birth, and Saxon kings wrote to Chelles asking leave to have disciples from Chelles sent to them who would build convents for men and women and teach in them. By leave of the senior brethren Bertila sent many monks and nuns, together with a request for books,² and many English came to Chelles to learn the discipline of a double monastery. Besides Hereswitha, Mildred of Kent is numbered among the nuns of Chelles, and Botulf and Adulf, who dwelt in a French monastery with the sisters of Ethelmund, are believed to have done so at Chelles.³ Among other famous persons brought up at Chelles was Theodoric IV., King of Neustria, Burgundy, and Austrasia, 720-737.⁴

The largest group of double monasteries clustered in the north-east of Gaul, in modern Belgium. St. Amand, Abbot of Elnon and Bishop of Maastricht, founded the double monastery of *Marchiennes*, on the river Scarp, near Ghent. Here at first he put monks under the government of Jonatus.⁵ Jonatus collected monks and nuns, and in 646 placed Rictrude as abbess over the nuns. Rictrude's life was written, 'at the request of the clerks and nuns of her congregation,' by a monk of Elnon.⁶

¹ *Acta*, II. 781; III. i. 21.

² *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 444.

³ *Ann.* i. 430.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 63, s. an. 721.

⁵ *Acta*, II. 720.

⁶ *Acta*, II. 984; *Gall. Christ.* iii. 395; *Ann.* i. 384; Le Glay, *Camerac Christiana*.

Rictrude was a widow when she became abbess. Her husband's mother, Gertrude, had founded the neighbouring house of *Hamay* or *Hamage*, also on the Scarp. This also was a double monastery. It was here that Amatus, bishop of Sens, was placed in custody after he had been deprived of his see. The connection between the houses of Marchiennes and Hamay was close; all Rictrude's family entered religion, and the abbacy of Hamay fell to her second daughter Eusebia, at the age of twelve, as an inherited right, on the death of the first abbess Gertrude, 649. Eusebia's mother, thinking her too young for the office, summoned her to come to Marchiennes. Eusebia came, but slipped back every night secretly to Hamay, four stadii off. Rictrude discovered her habits, and punished her by the advice of Maurontus, deacon and abbot, her son. In the ninth century the house of Marchiennes was still double. In a grant of Charles the Bald, 877, the brethren and sisters are both mentioned, though in the time of Charlemagne the nuns had been removed and the monks alone left under Fulchard as abbot.¹

Another double monastery in Belgium which owed its origin to St. Amand of Maastricht was the important house of St. Gertrude of *Nivelle*, where many Irish and English monks congregated. The writer of the life of St. Gertrude² cannot perhaps be trusted for his historical facts, but some of the details of his legend are in harmony with the concert of evidence from other sources. St. Gertrude was probably not, as he says, the daughter of Pepin by his wife Ita or Ida, but it is possible that she entered religion with her mother at the instigation of St. Amand. Ita is called first abbess, is said to have died 652, and to have been buried in the church of St. Peter, Nivelle. The other two churches of the monastery were dedicated to St. Paul and St. Mary. The nuns' services,

¹ *Acta SS. Belg.* IV. 481.

² Bonnell, *Anfänge*, p. 151, considers the life of S. Gertrude valueless historically. Rettberg, *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, i. 564, accepts it. Cf. Hauck, *Kirchengesch.* i. 282, and Wattenbach, *Gesch. quell.*, 5th ed., p. 122, for a note on an eighth-century MS. of the life. See Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 23.

at which monks were present, were held, it appears, in the church of St. Paul, where, after her death, Gertrude's bed was put, and through its means many sick persons are said to have been cured. But the church of St. Peter was not confined to the monks, for it was there that the nuns witnessed miracles done at her tomb. The nuns celebrated the canonical hours in the church of St. Mary.

Gertrude is said to have died 658, having first commended the temporal affairs of the monastery to the care of the brethren, the care of domestic matters within the walls of the house to the nuns. She also appointed her niece Wulftrude as abbess, with the advice and consent of the monks and nuns. Gertrude's nephew, aged twenty, who had been brought up there, took the chief care of the temporal affairs of the house. When dying she called one of the brethren to her side, and sent him to the house of one of the Irish monks who had been in her monastery for a time, to make inquiry concerning the hour of her death. Foilan, the brother of the famous St. Fursey, had been with and had learned psalmody of her nuns; so, too, St. Ultan, another brother. Medicine was practised in the house, the nuns were noted for their learning, and imitated monks in wearing the tonsure.¹ St. Gertrude herself was an eager collector of good books, and sent to Rome agents skilled in book-buying.² The day of her death was celebrated by the monks and nuns in common, with masses and a feast.³

Two sisters, daughters of the Count of Hainault, founded double monasteries in Belgium—one, St. Waltrude's at Maubeuge; the other, St. Aldegonde's at Mons, called Chasteaulieu. Maubeuge, the more important of the two, was at first ruled over by an abbess, and later by an abbot and abbess. The life of St. Waltrude was written by an

¹ Pagi, *Crit. Hist. Chronol.* iii. 48 (end) says of Nivelle in his days that it was a chapter of both sexes, in which 'canonicas virgines nobilissimas digniorem locum obtinent et penes abbatissam ejusdem civitatis dominium est.' On the tonsuring of the nuns, see *Ann. i.* 378*b*, 399*a*.

² *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii. 444.

³ *Acta*, II. 471.

anonymous man, who mentions brethren and sisters as residing there.¹

Hasnon in Belgium, founded 691, is one of the later cases which is generally accepted. Here a brother and sister presided over their respective sexes. The house was close to the double monastery of Marchiennes. Each sex had its own church—one dedicated to St. Peter, the other to St. Paul.² The abbacy was handed down through four sisters, and the house was full of members of the founders' family.

Continuing the chronological list, we find at *Vienne* a house of nuns closely associated with the house of St. Marcellus under the rule of St. Clare, whose habit it was to pass nightly through the quarters of the nuns. In their house he was buried, about 660.³

Another monastery at Vienne for virgins was *St. Columba's*, where an abbot and abbess held joint rule over thirty nuns, according to a privilege of Pope John IV., addressed to King Clovis II., 641, which excluded bishops, whose ministrations were not sanctioned by the 'father' and 'mother' of the house.⁴ The rules of St. Anthony, Pachomius, and Benedict were followed in this monastery.

There may have been a union between the female house at *Troyes* dedicated to St. Quentin and the house of monks at Celle St. Peter's, near Troyes, founded by Frodober, 656. The abbess Rocula invited Frodober to a feast, and he spent the whole night at the nunnery in prayer after vigils had finished. The abbess on another occasion was present at the monks' service. Frodober's successor, Waldinus, also had close relations with the abbess Gibitrude.⁵

The monastery of Fontenelle for men was closely allied to the nunnery of *Fécamp*. St. Waneng (Vaneng) and

¹ *Ann.* i. 440; *Acta*, II. 866. Le Glay, *Camerac. Christ.* p. 121, shows that in the thirteenth century the nuns were served by canons.

² *Gall. Christ.* iii. 400; *Ann.* i. 595.

³ *Ann.* i. 386, 688; *Gall. Christ.* vi. 147.

⁴ *Acta*, IV. i. 747. Sometimes ascribed to Remiremont.

⁵ *Acta*, II. 632; *SS. Franche-Comté* (1854) ii. 405-19; *Ann.* i. 415; *Gall. Christ.* xii. 534A, 565.

St. Wandregisl (Vandrille), together with St. Ouen (the St. Dado of the foundation at Jouarre, above described)—all pupils of the Luxeuil school—were concerned in these two foundations, 658. The nunnery of Fécamp was for three hundred and sixty-six nuns, and perpetual psalmody was there to be maintained. Hither St. Waning retired to take on himself the humblest servile offices under the Abbess Childe-mara, or Hildemarque, of Bordeaux.¹ Under her abbacy St. Leodegar (Léger) stayed for a while among the virgins after he had had his tongue cut out. Here he miraculously recovered his speech, and conversed for two years with the nuns.² At Childemara's request the nunnery was put under the special protection of St. Ouen and of St. Wandregisl.

In 658 there was a double monastery at *Tuffé*, in the diocese of Le Mans, where one hundred nuns lived under Abbess Lopa. The house was dedicated to the Virgin, and stood between the river Sarthe and the walls of Le Mans. The rule of St. Benedict was professed. At the gates of the monastery, Bernarius, who built the cloister, set monks and their servants to minister to the sisters. The nunnery was placed under the protection of the see of Le Mans, whence the first abbess, a relation of Bernarius, and the nuns, had originally come.³

In 660 Soissons had an important double monastery, whose chief church was dedicated to St. Mary. The monks administering the sacrament to the nuns occupied the church of St. Peter. The first Abbess of St. Mary's came from Jouarre, and the monastery adhered to the arrangements for divine service followed at Luxeuil, jointly with the rule of St. Benedict. The founders—Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace of Neustria, and his wife, Leodutrud—both became members of the house. The rule of the house ordered that

¹ Labbé, *Vita S. Waning*, whom Sindard, a monk of Fontenelle, visited when journeying on monastic business. *Ann.* i. 447; *Acta SS.* Bolland, October, XI. pp. 679-84.

² *Acta*, II. 529-621.

³ *Gall. Christ.* xiv. 436; *Ann.* i. 450; Martène and Durand, *Analecta*, iii. 178; Piolin, *L'Eglise du Mans*, i. 357.

no men might receive any food or drink in the nunnery except the sacramental elements. The bishop and religious priests might enter for prayer ; but prayer over, they were to retire. Here St. Leodegar (Léger) and his wife Sigrada¹ both retired, 678. This monastery was another of those which the Irish visited, and one named Wodcalus, with his companion Magnebert, had a little hospice assigned to them at the gate of the monastery, next the city wall, now called the tower of St. Benedict.²

Pascasius Ratbertus, Abbot of Corbey, addressed to the nuns and Abbess of Soissons³ a treatise (*De partu virginis*), in which he speaks of himself as their pupil, and says that he has written the work to show how much he loves them. In the ninth century there were two hundred and sixty nuns here.

Bercarius' foundation at *Montierender* (Haute Marne), 672, had a church of monks dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and a church of nuns dedicated to the Virgin, after the usual pattern. The community consisted at first of eight male and eight female captives whom he had freed. The nunnery, commonly called *Pellermontier*, he put under an abbess Waltilda, his niece, who soon had under her sixty nuns. Bercarius, who had been a monk of Luxeuil, watched closely over them. On the day of his death he entered the nunnery to bestow his benediction, and then returned to his own house to die, 685. Subsequently the monks of Montierender claimed a share in the election of the abbess of Pellermontier.⁴

From the close of the seventh century the notices of double monasteries west of the Rhine become rarer as monastic zeal expended itself and the literary and religious impulse given by the Irish monasteries wore out. Whole

¹ *Acta SS.* Bolland, August, I. 353.

² *Acta*, II. 686, note ; *Ann.* i. 455, 482, 532.

³ *Acta*, II. 519. D'Achery and Mabillon favour the reading [S]uesona instead of Vesona. But Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 120, col. 1367, thinks it may be Vesonne in Périgord.

⁴ *Ann.* i. 508, 573 ; *Gall. Christ.* ix. 909 ; *Pardessus, Diplom.* ii. 222, n. 423.

families, however, occasionally sought protection in monasteries against the disturbances of the time. Thus at St. Peter's, Lyons, St. Annemond (Dalfinus), Bishop of Lyons, placed his relatives Sigronus and Petronia and two of his sisters.¹

The double monastery of *Pavilly* (Seine Inférieure), 662, ten miles from Jumièges, was founded by Filibert, Abbot of Jumièges, himself a pupil of the house of Jouarre. It was of the ordinary type, with three churches—the chief dedicated to the Virgin, the others to St. Peter and to St. Martin and All Saints. The life of the Abbess Austreberta was written by a monk at the request of an abbess of the house.²

The Bishop of Clermont, Praejectus, founded a double monastery in 665 at *Chamalières*, under the rule of St. Benedict, St. Caesarius, and St. Columban.³

The story of Sigolena, abbess of the nunnery of *Troclare* (dep. Tarn), 696, gives an account of an early visitation of a double monastery. A monk came on the business of visitation, perhaps from the neighbouring house of men under Evantius. The abbess begged the visitor to seal with a ring the paper containing a list of her sins, and to place it on the altar. In expiation of her sins she did penance for a year, and on Christmas Day, in the presence of many venerable men, her brother, Bishop Sigiswald and an Abbot Giswald, the paper was opened, and it was found that the writing had been miraculously effaced. This anecdote is not peculiar to Sigolena; of her, too, a story is told resembling that of Benedict and Scholastica. Sigolena desired that her brother, the Bishop of Metz, should spend the night in her house. He refused, but a storm miraculously intervened to detain him. The abbess was buried in the nuns' cemetery on an island in the Tarn. At the request of the abbess and nuns an anonymous writer penned her life, who was perhaps a monk of the house.⁴ As late as 770 the house is thought to have been still double.⁵

¹ *Ann.* i. 425, 691. ² *Ann.* i. 469; ii. 10. ³ *Ann.* i. 481; *Acta*, II. 641.

⁴ *Ann.* i. 606; *Acta*, III. ii. 540; Bonnell, *Anfänge*, p. 21.

⁵ Migne, *Dict. des Abbayes*.

Towards the close of the early period of double monasteries in Gaul, and when nunneries began to be treated as family or private possessions, it was not unusual for them to be granted to monasteries for purposes of protection and control. Thus in 697 *Limours*, near Etampes, was given by its founders to St. Vincent's monastery, Paris (afterwards St. Germain's). The monks were to appoint the abbess and to act as *rectores* of the house. The daughter of the founders, Gammo and his wife Adalgudis, was made abbess; subsequently the house was under abbots.¹

In 747 Pope Zacharias, in answer to a question from the Gallican clergy, forbade the nuns to read the lessons publicly at mass or to sing psalms at mass. Women were not to serve the altars or take upon themselves any masculine duties. The nuns might sing the Alleluia and responses, as they were accustomed to do.²

The story that Angilbert, minister of Charlemagne, and supposed husband of a daughter of Charlemagne, retired with his wife to Centule S. Riquier (Amiens), where Angilbert became abbot 789, seems thoroughly unreliable.³

The action of the Second Council of Nice, 787, shows that the Church still had difficulty in coping with those spurious monasteries, consisting each of a single family, of which more will have to be said when we come to the Spanish and English evidence. By the twentieth canon it was ordered that double monasteries should be henceforth forbidden, as a cause of great scandal and offence. If a whole family desired to quit the world at one time the men must enter a male monastery, the women a female monastery. Double monasteries already established may continue under the rule of St. Basil, and must follow his rule in these points:

- (1) Monks and nuns may not dwell in one building, for living together leads to immorality.
- (2) No monk may enter a house of nuns, and no nun may speak alone with a monk.

¹ Pardessus, *Dipl.* ii. 245, n. 442; *Ann.* i. 614, 705; ii. 5. ² *Ann.* ii. 139.

³ Hariulf, *Chron. de l'abbaye de S. Riquier* ed., F. Lot, p. lxviii; *Ann.* ii. 302.

(3) No monk may sleep in a house of nuns (as was done to facilitate the performance of early services, as Hefele notes), nor may he eat alone with a nun.

(4) And when the means of life are brought from a house of monks to the *canonesses*, the abbess and an old nun must receive the same outside the door.

(5) When a monk wants to see a female relative (in a monastery) he may see her and say a few words in the presence of the abbess, and then quickly depart.

The scattered notices of double monasteries as they existed west of the Rhine from the sixth to the ninth century show the great elasticity and variety of form which primitive organisations allow. Withal a certain uniformity appears. As a rule the French monastic community in its double form held a group of small churches, and sometimes it is only by following the dedications of these that the fact of double organisation can be ascertained. Very usual is the dedication of the nuns' church to the Virgin Mary, of the church in which the monks and nuns celebrated mass jointly to St. Peter and St. Paul. From chance mentions of the burial of monks and nuns in a common ground a clue may sometimes be given. With regard to the relations of the heads of the male and female communities no general rule can be laid down: in one the abbess rules both sexes, in another the abbot. This is in marked contrast to the rule in England, where the abbess ruled both sexes. In some cases the monks are altogether subsidiary to the nuns, and are there only in small numbers, for their ministration; in other cases the monks are in the majority, and the nuns are the subsidiary element. In some cases great care is taken to separate the sexes; in others great freedom is allowed, especially between those in authority.

III.—THE DOUBLE MONASTERY IN IRELAND

The paucity of Irish evidence on the subject of double organisation is remarkable. For most other questions of monastic organisation there is for the early period a mass of information to be derived from hagiological and other sources; for the present question there is exceedingly little, and what little has hitherto been adduced requires careful criticism. The clearest statement we have on the subject comes from Cogitosus' life of St. Brigid, written in the eighth century. He professes to be describing a sixth-century building at *Kildare*, but there can be no doubt that he was really describing what he saw. The passage runs:—

'The number of the faithful of both sexes increasing, the church was enlarged, having, within, three oratories, large, and separated by partitions of planks, under one roof of the greater house, wherein one partition extended along the breadth in the eastern part of the church, from the one party wall to the other, which [partition] has at its extremities two doors; through the one door in the right side the chief prelate enters the sanctuary, accompanied by his *regular school* and the ministrants of the altar; through the other, the abbess and nuns, when they communicate. Another partition divides the pavement of the house into two equal parts. There are two main doors—one for the men, one for the women.'¹

Can we get behind this? There is a bit of evidence which may serve to show that there was some similar plan in the seventh century. Cogitosus states that people of both sexes came and voluntarily devoted themselves to St. Brigid, and also that 'she called a great man from his solitary life to govern the church with her in episcopal dignity, that nothing of sacerdotal order should be wanting in her churches, and for the churches of the many provinces that adhered to her.'

¹ Petrie, *Eccles. Archit. of Ireland*, p. 197.

The meaning of this passage has been much controverted. The first Bishop of Kildare who is called Abbot died in 638.¹ It is probable (though it cannot be proved that this was so before the time of Cogitosus) that the body of clergy under this bishop were monks, and that the monks and nuns already used a common church.²

The lives of Brigid contain nothing which can be adduced as evidence on the point in question.³ Cogitosus speaks of her system of discipline⁴ as spread throughout all Ireland, but what it was we do not know.⁵

There are certain passages which possibly touch this subject in the eighth-century account of the three 'orders' of Irish saints, which is generally accepted as having historical value. It states that the first order of Irish saints, who lived about 440–543, did not reject the service and society of women⁶; another later MS. adds, nor did they shut out laymen or women from the churches.

Of the second order, who lived 543–599, it is said 'they refused the services of women, separating them from the monasteries'; or, as another MS. of equally good authority says, 'they fled the society and service of women, and shut them out from their monasteries.'⁷

Whether this means that the first order admitted the practice of double monasteries, as Varin supposes, and that

¹ Aidus, *Triad Th.* Colgan, p. 629.

² This is the view of Haddan, *Rennius*, p. 277; Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 12. But Lanigan thinks that they were clerics, i. 410, 414.

³ Her life in the *Book of Lismore*, ed. Stokes, makes mention of male servants and members of the household. According to a life in a Salamanca MS. monks dined with her (De Smedt, *Acta SS. Hibernie*, p. 36).

⁴ 'Cujus parrochia per totam Hibernensem terram diffusa.' On the use of *parrochia* in the sense of discipline, see Reeves's *Adamnan*; Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 12; also Moran, *Essays*, p. 190; Bellesheim, i. 69.

⁵ On the legendary stories of a rule, see Ultan's seventh-century life, and *Leabhar Breac*, p. xlvi.

⁶ 'Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant.' Ussher gives the other reading, 'nec laicos nec feminas de ecclesiis repellebant.'

⁷ 'Abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis.' The Brussels MS. has 'mulierum quoque consortia ac administrationem fugiebant, atque a monasteriis suis.'

the second rejected it, cannot be determined, as the words are open to several constructions.¹

The few scattered notices in lives of early saints yield very little. The life of St. Ita (*d.* 569), 'the Brigid of Munster,' has been referred to to prove the point at issue, but there is nothing in it beyond general references to her intimacy with many saints. Her house was near that of Moedoc (Aidan).²

St. Kieran's (*d.* 520) mother, Lidania, is said to have congregated women in a cell separated from his monastery of Saigir.³ Dega Maccaryl (St. Dagaeus), said to have died 586, raised a dead nun, wherefore the nuns chose him as their ruler. One of the nuns was his sister. Women flocked to him from all parts, to the horror of a neighbouring abbot. Eventually Dagaeus built monasteries for the nuns.⁴ A certain virgin, Segnith, is said to have nourished virgins of Christ under the care of Alban or Chell Ailbe.⁵

St. Mochuda, who died 637, was a man of extreme beauty, and thirty girls fell in love with him. Under his authority they all became nuns.⁶ Phrases of this kind hardly prove the existence of double monasteries.

In the Féлиre of Oengus, written about 800, Ultan's church is thus described: 'There were one hundred for labour, one hundred for devotion, one hundred for learning "white" knowledge, fifty nuns with fair-coloured form in the time of Ultan in his church.'⁷

There are records of women learning from Irish monks; for instance, the British princess who attended Mo-Nenni's school at the Magnum Monasterium, probably Candida Casa.⁸ A certain virgin named Lassar in the sixth century

¹ Varin points to the ninth canon of the so-called synod of Bishops Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserminus. It merely forbids monks and virgins, travelling, to stay in the same hospice or to ride together. Furthermore the code contains anons which cannot have been framed before the eighth century. See Wasser-schleben, and Haddan and Stubbs.

² De Smedt, p. 485.

³ De Smedt, p. 807.

⁴ Ibid. p. 897; *Acta SS.* Bolland, III. August, 660.

⁵ De Smedt, p. 528.

⁶ Bolland, May, III. 379.

⁷ Page cxiii. (Whitley Stokes).

⁸ Todd, *Anc. Irish Hymns*.

is said to have been placed under the charge of St. Finian of Clonard to be taught, and then under St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise. She lodged and boarded with a widow at Clonard. St. Kieran, when he taught her, never dared to look at her, nor she at him, during the whole course of instruction.¹

Upon the few scattered passages which remotely suggest the existence of double monasteries in Ireland it would be exceedingly hazardous to build any theory. True, there is every reason to suspect the existence of double monasteries in Ireland at an early date; the environment seems one peculiarly favourable to their development. But in the absence of positive proof it is surely rash to assert, with Varin and others, that the double monastery first existed in Ireland, and came thence direct to Gaul, since the existence of double monasteries at an early date is nowhere so ill attested as in Ireland. The entire absence of evidence in Wales and in Scotland is no less remarkable, for although the materials for the history of monasticism are here for the most part very late and very legendary, yet so much is known that some record of the existence of double monasteries might well be expected if they were ever peculiarly characteristic of Celtic civilisation.

IV.—THE DOUBLE MONASTERY IN ENGLAND

Passing to England, here in the seventh century we see the double monastery in full perfection and in full detail. The evidence presents no difficulties, for Beda is with us. His explicit statements on this point require no minute analysis, and they serve to show that the attempt to trace an origin for the double monastery along a single line of genealogical descent—Ireland to Gaul, Gaul to England, or Ireland to England—is unnecessary.

In 647 Hilda, resolving to quit the secular habit, went to East Anglia, being desirous, if possible, to pass over from thence to Gaul, to live in the monastery of Chelles, where her

¹ O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, iii. 996. Colgan refers to acts of Kieran, cap. xvi.

sister Hereswitha, wife of the future King of East Anglia, was living¹ under regular discipline. Nothing is known of the circumstances which drew Hereswitha to Chelles. Writing of the year 640, Beda says: 'At that time, but few monasteries being built in the country of the Angles, many were wont for the sake of monastic conversation to repair to the monasteries of the Franks or Gauls, and they also sent their daughters there to be instructed, especially in the monasteries of Brie, Chelles, and Andelys.'² But we may not trace here a line of descent, for it is in connection with Hilda that we hear of the first double monastery in England, and Hilda never went abroad; she abandoned her purpose, being called northwards by Aidan. Nor can the connection of Hilda with Aidan suggest a line of descent, as no evidence is forthcoming to show that Aidan was acquainted with a double organisation in use elsewhere.

About 650 Hilda was made abbess in the monastery called Heruteu (*Hartlepool*), which had been founded not long before by the religious servant of Christ, Heiu, 'who is said to have been,' Beda says, 'the first woman that in the province of the Northumbrians took upon her the purpose and garb of a nun, being consecrated by Bishop Aidan, but soon after she had founded that monastery she went away to Calcaria, which by the Angles is called Kælacæster, and there fixed her dwelling.' Legend, it is true, makes Heiu an Irish princess, but it is legend of the least reliable type.

That Hartlepool under Hilda was double, we may well believe, since it is stated by Beda that *Whitby* was modelled after its pattern.

Here we stand upon well-trodden, familiar ground; but as the numerous indications of the manner of life in double monasteries have received comparatively little attention, it may not be out of place to group here the various casual

¹ This must have been before Chelles was refounded by Bathilda, 662. Whether it was double or not before that there is nothing to show.

² Of this group, as shown above, Brie alone can be certainly proved to be a double monastery in 640.

notices of the character of the rule, the life, or the arrangement of the monastic buildings.

At Whitby, about 650, Hilda began 'to reduce all things to a regular system, according as she had learned it from learned men, in particular from Bishop Aidan.' At Whitby, as at Hartlepool, the inmates were to live 'after the example of the primitive Church'; 'there no person was rich, none poor, all things being in common to all.' Kings and princes and persons of less rank all came to her for advice; she made all under her read the Scriptures and equip themselves for all kinds of ecclesiastical duties. Her house was, indeed, the place of training of many bishops, and Beda names six—all men of singular merit and sanctity—who passed for the most part to sees in neighbouring kingdoms.

The story of Cædmon throws light on certain points in the Whitby rule of life. Cædmon was a layman, probably dwelling on the Whitby estate, and in a humble position. Finding himself inspired with the gift of song, he told his superior, the steward, who conducted him to the abbess. She ordered him in the presence of many learned men to tell the story of his inspiration and repeat his verses. At the order of the learned men he put a passage of Holy Writ into verse. Thereupon the abbess instructed him to quit the secular habit and take upon him the monastic life. This he did, and she associated him with the rest of the brethren in her monastery, and ordered him to be instructed in sacred history. There is no evidence that Cædmon was called on to sing or recite his poems in the refectory, as is sometimes said. Beda merely says that Cædmon had often felt the want of his newly acquired power at entertainments, which were no doubt secular. The phrase in which Hilda is said to have associated him 'cum omnibus suis' with the other brethren has been variously explained. Ewald supposes that he was a married man, and that he and his whole family entered with him. Others suppose it to mean that he entered the monastery with all his possessions.

Hilda died after six years of physical suffering, during

which she never ceased to teach her flock, both publicly and privately. She died at dawn in the presence of 'all the servants of Christ that were in the monastery.' There is nothing definite to show that Hackness, her other foundation, 680, was double.

Hilda's successor, Elfleda, a princess wise and well instructed in the Holy Scriptures, had shared the government of the house for a time. In 684, after Hilda's death, Elfleda, then aged thirty, had an interview with St. Cuthbert at a monastery on Coquet Isle, in which she asked advice on the affairs of her house. Subsequently she gave Cuthbert's anonymous biographer an account of the vision seen by one of her monks, Hadwald. Her mother had a share in her rule; and also, it seems, Trumwine, at one time bishop of Whitherne, helped her in governing.¹

Whitby monastery was an important political centre, and its abbesses concerned themselves not a little in controversy. Hilda is said to have joined with Archbishop Theodore in sending persons to Pope Agatho to accuse Wilfrid after the disturbances of 678, and in the great synod of Whitby she and her followers were strong supporters of the side of the Irish Church. Elfleda, too, interested herself greatly in the doings of her brother, King Egfrith, and also in the cause of Wilfrid, who was restored to his see through her influence.

Besides the poems of Cædmon, at least one Latin work shows that Whitby was a centre of literary activity. It is now known that the earliest extant authority for the biography of Pope Gregory I. was written by a Whitby monk.²

Contemporary with Hilda was Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham. Like Hilda, she also was of royal birth, the daughter of King Ethelfrid and sister of Kings Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy. Her early religious history is not known, but tradition affirms that she was veiled by Finan, Aidan's successor.³

¹ Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 26. Cf. also the description of Hedda, 'qui prius fuerat et monachus et abba.'—William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontif.* p. 159.

² Ewald, 'Studien z. Ausgabe des Registers Gregors I.' in *Neues Archiv f. alt. deut. Gesch.kunde.*, and *Eng. Hist. Rev.* April 1888, p. 303.

³ *Acta SS. Bolland*, August, V. 197.

She was appointed to govern a double monastery at the 'Coludi urbs' of Beda (iv. 19), Coldingham in Berwickshire. This must have been before 661, the date of St. Cuthbert's visit to the house. Her rule had not been entirely successful, and she had need of advice. She had one good monk in her house, named Adamnan, who at last summoned up courage to tell her what was going on in her monastery, unknown to her, when he was warned in a vision that the house was about to be destroyed. Beda says that Adamnan, being busy one night in watching and singing psalms, on a sudden saw a person who told him that he was the only person in the monastery so occupied; for in all the chambers men and women were either indulging in slothfulness, or were awake in order to sin. The 'casæ' or 'domunculae' here alluded to show that at Coldingham, as in all likelihood in all the monasteries of the Scots mission, there was no common dormitory, but a group of cells—half for habitation, half for oratory.¹ Adamnan, or the spirit advising him, charged the nuns with an excessive love of dress.

Beda tells a story of Ethelhilda, sister of the Abbot of Parteney, near which her own double monastery, *Bardney*, was situated, which describes the hospitality shown in her house. The abbess went with one of the nuns to the men's apartment and called a priest, because one of the guests had been taken ill in the night after being hospitably entertained at supper.²

Just as Ebba of Coldingham combined the Celtic traditions of Finan and Cuthbert with personal friendship for Wilfrid, the apostle of the Benedictine rule, whose release from prison she obtained, so Etheldreda of *Ely*,³ the pupil of Ebba and of Wilfrid, combined in her own person a knowledge of Roman and of Irish monasticism. No mention, however, is

¹ Mr. Hunt has kindly pointed out to me that there is a phrase in Beda's account of Cædmon which indicates a similar arrangement at Whitby: 'Erat autem in proximo casa' (iv. 24), i.e. in the infirmary adjoining Cædmon's 'domuncula.'

² Mr. Hunt observes that in the A.-S. versions of Beda and in William of Malmesbury, *Ges. Reg.* i. c. 77, Ethelred, the husband of Osthrytha, who together founded Bardney, is called *Abbot* of Bardney. See note 1 on p. 171.

made of the presence of monks as well as of nuns at *Ely* until the time of Etheldreda's successor, Sexburga. In her time occurred the translation of Etheldreda's relics, and Beda relates that over the grave a tent was spread and 'all the congregation of brothers were on one side, all the congregation of sisters on the other, standing about it singing.'

Sexburga, Etheldreda's sister, widow of Ercombert, King of Kent, had founded a double monastery at *Sheppey*, of which she was the first abbess. When she moved to Ely her daughter *Ermenilda* succeeded as Abbess of Sheppey and, on her mother's death, to Ely. Her daughter *Werburga* (by Wulfhere, King of Mercia) was in the same way Abbess of Sheppey and Ely in succession. Florence of Worcester records that on the death of her father, Werburga renounced the world, entered the convent of her great-aunt, Etheldreda, at Ely, and was appointed by her uncle, King Ethelred, to the office of abbess in several of the Mercian monasteries. In one of these, Trickingham (Trentham), she died; in another, at Hanbury, she was buried. These two Staffordshire monasteries and Wedon (Northamptonshire) all claim to have been founded by her, and probably contained monks as well as nuns.¹

According to one testimony, there was a nunnery attached to St. John of Beverley's foundation. Folcard in his life of John, which contains much detail not given by Beda, some of which may be genuine, says that a nobleman whose wife was cured by the saint put his daughter Yolfrid into *Beverley* monastery. The main church was dedicated by John of Beverley to St. John, and the nuns had an oratory dedicated to St. Martin. Associated with both foundations was a group of seven priests and seven clerks, who served in the body of the church.²

Repton was another double monastery under an abbess,

¹ Broughton, *Memorial*; Stanton, *Menology*; E. Levien, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.* xxix. p. 329.

² *Acta SS.* May 7, II. 168. A better MS. is Faustina B. IV. f. 156; Leland, *Coll.* iii. 100; Lingard, *A.-S. Church*, i. 197.

and something is known of it from the life of Guthlac by Felix, who got his information from men who had seen the saint. Guthlac was a rich man of noble Mercian race who in his youth was a warrior. He repented of his ways, and went to Repton (Hrypadun) monastery in the land of the Middle Angles. Under his abbess Elfrida (*Ælfthrytha*) he received the tonsure of St. Peter, in 697, at the age of twenty-four. The abbess's discipline appears to have been rigid—so much so that Guthlac's resolve to break the rule and *not* drink any intoxicating liquor got him into trouble.

Earconwald and his sister Ethelburga introduced the double monastery to Essex. It is possible that they were connected with the East Anglian royal family, but their origin is obscure. Earconwald was, according to one tradition, a disciple of Mellitus, first Bishop of London. Theodore chose him as the fourth Bishop of the East Saxons, with his see at London. Before he was made bishop he built, about 666, two famous monasteries—one for himself at Chertsey, one for Ethelburga at *Barking*, which was a double monastery. He established them both 'in regular discipline of the best kind.' According to later tradition, he brought over Hildelitha from Chelles to teach his sister. The men and women dwelt in two separate parts of the house. A pestilence broke out, in which the men suffered severely, and the nuns prepared for themselves a separate burial-ground.

The house appears to have served partly the purpose of a hospital, partly that of a school. A little boy of only three years old was being brought up in the house.

Ethelburga was succeeded by Hildelitha, according to Beda—a fact which is perhaps hardly reconcilable with the later tradition that she taught Ethelburga regular discipline. Her supposed connection with Chelles possibly arises from a confusion of her name with that of Hereswitha. She continued abbess till she was of an extreme old age; she was strict in the observance of regular discipline and in the care of providing all things for the public use. The narrowness of the place where the monastery was built persuaded her that it would

be advisable to remove the cemetery and to bury the bones of the nuns and monks in the church. Access to the church was permitted to the laity.

Aldhelm's works in praise of virginity—the prose version of which is addressed to Hildelitha, Abbess of Barking, and her nuns Justina, Cutberga, Osburga, Aldgida, Scholastica, Hildburga, Burngida, Eulalia, and Tecla ; the poetical version—‘*Ad Maximam Abbatissam*’—shows that the nuns of this house were good Latinists.

Aldhelm describes the nunnery as a little world within a world, where the nuns work like bees. Their industry is not confined to the reading of sacred literature ; the liberal arts and secular scholarship are taught ; and Aldhelm expects them to have a knowledge of ancient law, of history, allegory, ‘*tropologia*,’ ‘*anagogē*,’ chronography, the rules of grammar and orthography, punctuation, metre. He commends to their reading Cassian's ‘*Collations of the Fathers*’ and Gregory's ‘*Thirty Books of Morals*,’ and he quotes largely from Rufinus' books of ‘*Ecclesiastical History*.’ Virginity, he says, is gold, chastity silver, wedlock brass, and proceeds with a whole series of comparisons of this kind. Riches, a competence, and poverty, or the sun, the moon, and darkness ; day, dawn, and night, or freedom, redemption, and captivity—all may be compared to these three states.

The nuns know all the discipline of monastic conversation and the regular institutes of monasteries, but he speaks of the rule of St. Benedict as the rule to which he himself is subject.¹ He recommends the nuns to avoid talking and secular affairs ; secrecy, solitude, and quiet are the characteristics of a nun's life.² He concludes by asking for the prayers of his monastic sisters, his scholastic pupils.

To a nun, Osgyth or Sigegyth, Aldhelm writes that she must not cease to occupy her mind with assiduous meditation on the Scriptures. She had applied to him in a difficulty about

¹ Anthony, Paul, Hilarion, Benedict : ‘*Cujus rei regulam nostra quoque mediocritas authentica veterum auctoritate subnixa.*’

² *Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 79.

a heathen girl who was in her monastery, veiled but not baptised. Aldhelm promised to refer the question of the girl's baptism to the Pope. Boniface, again, writing to a nun Eadburga, sent an account of certain visions of the next world which he had obtained from Hildelitha, Abbess of Barking.¹

A relation similar to that between Sheppey and Ely may possibly have existed between *Caistor* in Northamptonshire and *Gloucester*. Penda had two daughters, Kineburga and Kineswitha. The first married Alchfrith,² who from 658 shared the kingdom of Northumbria with his father, Oswy. She bore him children, and leaving him, 'pro amore Dei,' became abbess or nun at Caistor, where her sister Kineswitha, and possibly another sister, Tibba, were nuns. The monastery of Caistor—or Dorthmanchester, as it was also called—was, according to Florence of Worcester,³ built by Wulfhere and Ethelred, brothers of these ladies, and its name was 'Kineburgæ Castrum.'

If Osric, the under-king of the Hwicci, may be identified with Osric, afterwards King of Northumbria (718–729), he was the son of Alchfrith and Kineburga. He was the founder of Gloucester monastery, and here his sister Kineburga, called Ethelred's niece (which she would be if she were Kineburga's daughter), was the first abbess. She was succeeded by a sister Eadburga, called Abbess of Caistor, who died 680.

Carlisle may perhaps have been a double monastery; it was ruled over by Ermenburga's sister, and it was probably there that Cuthbert veiled Ermenburga, the second wife of Egfrid, King of Northumbria, 686.

St. Botulf and his brother Aldulf returned from Chelles, but it is not clear that their house at Ikanhoe was double. Monasteries at Hoe in Kent and at Cookham in Berkshire had abbesses, but there is no evidence that they contained monks as well as nuns. The legend of Modwenna, an Irish saint, makes her Abbess of *Strenshall*, in Staffordshire, ruling

¹ *Ep. Bonif.* ed. Jaffé in *Mon. Mogunt.* ep. 10.

² Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 21.

³ *Mon. Hist. Brit.* an. 638.

over monks, but her history is mythical.¹ At *Lyminge*, in Kent, whither Ethelburga of Kent, wife of Edwin, King of Northumbria, retired in 633, there may possibly have been distinct churches for the monastery and the nunnery.²

Theodore in his *Penitential* (II. vi. 8) expressed disapproval of the system which allowed men to rule nuns or nuns to rule monks; but he adds that he does not intend to abolish what is customary in this land, or, according to one MS., 'istius provinciae.' With regard to the power of nuns to perform priestly functions, according to some MSS., he says (II. vii. 1) they may read lections in their churches and fulfil the ministries which belong to the confession of the holy altar, except those which specially belong to priests or deacons. To adjudge penances is forbidden them.

In the same way in which Sheppey remained in the hands of the family of Sexburga, its foundress, so *Minster* in Thanet remained in the family of its foundress, Eormenbunga or Domneva, wife of the Mercian prince Merewald. Her three daughters, Milburga, Mildred, and Mildgitha, were all celebrated nuns—Milburga abbess of *Wenlock*, Mildred abbess of Thanet, and Mildgitha a nun of Eastry. It was in Milburga's monastery that a monk had lived, and, as it was believed, had died and been restored to life. He told Boniface with his own lips what he had seen in the death-trance.

Mildred, her mother's successor at Minster, had been educated at Chelles. There she wrote a psalter and sent it to her mother. According to Goscelin's MS. life, she dwelt at Chelles in the secular habit under the learned Abbess Wilcona—which, anglicised, he says means 'Welcome.' It was Wilcona's desire to marry Mildred to one of her relatives, and upon her refusal she placed Mildred in her furnace, and upon her escape unhurt she ordered her hair to be pulled out. Mildred adorned the margins of her psalter with her lost hair. With much difficulty she escaped from the

¹ Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 177. Luger is named as her disciple.

² Jenkins, *Archæol. Cantiana*, ix. 205; x. c. i.; Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* p. 188.

monastery and from the abbess's tyranny, and returned to her mother, bringing vestments and relics. She was consecrated to the office of abbess either by Theodore or by Deusdedit.¹

She and the abbesses Etheldritha, Ætte, Wilnotha, and Hereswitha signed the privilege granted to the churches and monasteries of Kent by King Wihtred at a Kentish Witenagemot, 696–716.²

Her successor was Eadburga, or Bugga, who built a new church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, because the original church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary was too small. Under Mildred's charge there are said to have been seventy nuns.

The new church was described in a poem which has been ascribed to Aldhelm,³ to Alcuin,⁴ and in another form to Walafrid Strabo.⁵ The latter version begins :

Hic Petrus et Paulus, quadrati luminaria mundi, &c.

All three versions continue :

Hoc templum Bugge pulcro sacro molmine structum
Nobilis erexit cenuvium (Centwini) filia Regis
Qui prius imperium Saxonum rite regebat.

Here now 'Christicolæ servant monastica jura.'

The principal altar is described in the longer version as covered with curtains of cloth of gold, adorned with silver ornaments and precious stones. The chalice was a cup of gold chased and set with precious stones; the paten was a dish of silver of great size. A silver censer hung from the roof; the windows were of glass. Brethren and sisters mingled their voices in the service :

Frates concordi laudemus voce tonantem,
Cantibus et crebris conclamet turba sororum.

Also :

Lector lectrixve volumina sacra resolvat.

¹ She is believed to have died at the end of the seventh century.

² Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 238. ³ *Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 115.

⁴ Migne, *Pat. Lat.* ci. col. 1309.

⁵ Baluze, *Misc.* iv. 14.

Eadburga was the daughter of an Abbess Eangyth, and both were trusted friends of Boniface, who had taught both men and women from his monastery of Nursling while he was in England.¹ It is believed that the letter concerning the Wenlock monk's vision is addressed to Eadburga. He concludes it : ' Farewell, virgin of the true life. May thy existence here be that of an angel ! ' To her, too, Boniface writes as to his dearest and most revered sister. He thanks her for presents of books and of clothes, and he asks her if she will write out for him in gold letters the Epistles of St. Peter, that in the course of his preaching he may have the words of the Apostle before his eyes.

Eangyth wrote to Boniface as abbess of a double monastery, 719-722. She thanks him for kind messages, and writes that she is weighed down with anxiety for the account she will have to give on the day of judgment for her government of a double cloister containing men and women of various ages.² She has suffered much vexation from the division and quarrels that have arisen among the monks. Her house was poor, and had incurred the hostility of the king. She had to render oppressive services to the king, queen, bishop, and other officials. She had but one male relative to whose protection she could commend her daughter Bugga.

Among Boniface's correspondents³ was Egburga, who calls herself least of his male and female disciples. She may have been one of the nuns who came to him for teaching at Nursling, near Southampton. She says no day or night passes but she remembers his instructions. She was well read in the Scriptures, quotes Virgil, and uses great wealth of language to describe her affection for Boniface. As a demonstration of affection this letter excels all others in the collection. She hangs upon his neck in the embrace of

¹ Willibald's *Life of Boniface*; Jaffé, *Mon. Mogunt.* p. 436.

² Ep. 14: ' Universarum commissarum animarum promiscui sexus et ætatis.'

³ On the vexed question of their identity, see Hahn's *Bonifaz und Lull*, and Zell's *Lioba*.

a sister; he is father and brother to her. Ships tempest-tossed do not more long for port, the thirsty fields for rain, the anxious mother watching for her son, than she longs for the sight of Winfrid (Boniface).

In the time of Boniface the most important of all the double houses seems to have been *Wimborne*, and of its organisation a detailed account has been preserved in the life of the nun Lioba. It is believed to have been founded by two sisters, Cuthburga¹ and Coenburga, daughters of Coenred, King of Wessex. Cuthburga married Aldfrid, King of Northumbria, 685-705, and was possibly first veiled at Barking under Abbess Hildelitha.² Like Etheldreda, she is said to have been a virgin, but there is some reason to think that Aldfrid had a son Osred by her.

Cuthburga and Coenburga were sisters of Ine, King of Wessex, and of Tetta, also Abbess of Wimborne.

In Lioba's life by Rudolf, a monk of Fulda, written before 837, he thus describes the arrangement of Wimborne: There were two monasteries, formerly erected by the kings of the country, surrounded with strong and lofty walls and endowed with sufficient revenues. Of these, one was for clerks, the other for females; but neither (for such was from the beginning the law of their foundation) was ever entered by any individual of the other sex. No woman could obtain permission to come into the monastery of the men, nor any of the men to come into the convent of the women, with the exception of the priests who entered their churches to celebrate mass and withdrew to their own house the moment the service was over. Any woman desirous of quitting the world and wishing to be admitted to the sisterhood did so only upon agreement that she should never seek to leave the house, save for reasonable cause or on some extraordinary occasion, and with the abbess's leave. The abbess, when she had orders to give concerning the government of the monastery, spoke to the monks through a window.³

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Ges. Reg.* Hardy, i. 49.

² So Aldhelm, *Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 355.

³ *Acta*, III. i. 246.

An exceedingly religious virgin, by reason of her strictness in regular observance, was made mistress over the younger nuns. But, though she could obey, she had no power to win obedience, and she was intensely hated for her severity, especially by the young. Tetta did not depose her from her office, and the house must have been in an unsatisfactory state until the obnoxious mistress died. Even after her death the younger nuns could not overcome their rancour, which they showed by trampling on her grave. Tetta now proved equal to the occasion, and by her mild exhortation and by prayer and penance the nuns were brought to a better state of mind.

At Wimborne there were five hundred nuns.¹ All were present at the night offices. The abbess had several officers under her—the prioress (*praeposita*), deaconess (*decana*), and a porteress charged to close the church after compline and ring the bell for matins.

Lioba in her letter introduces herself as a young girl to Boniface and claims relationship with him. She has been learning verse-making from her mistress, Eadburga, who never ceases to put the Divine Law into verse. She sends specimens of her hexameters, ‘writing according to the rules of the poets,’ not in a spirit of presumption, but with the desire of exciting the power of her slender talents, and in the hope of Boniface’s assistance therein.

Other letters from and to Boniface and his successor, Lull, introduce the names of abbots and abbesses who act in co-operation and perhaps write as members of double houses. The desire for mutual intercession led to the maintenance of this active correspondence. With these letters the story of early English double monasteries closes. From Alcuin’s correspondence in which English nuns and abbesses were addressed no conclusive evidence of the existence of this form of organisation can be deduced.

The family monasteries of Spain find an analogy in England in the eighth century. The purpose of their

¹ *Acta*, III. ii. 245.

founders in England is explicitly stated by Beda in his letter to Egbert, Archbishop of York; it was to escape those military and other burdens which fell on secular lands, from which ecclesiastical lands were exempt. Persons who were laics, neither habituated to, nor actuated by the love of, any regular life, by pecuniary payments to the kings, and under the pretext of founding monasteries, purchased territories, got them assigned by royal edicts as hereditary possessions, and had their charters of privileges confirmed by bishops and abbots and secular powers. They gathered about them monks expelled from true monasteries for disobedience, and induced some of their own servants to take the tonsure and make a promise of obedience to them. Thus a disgraceful spectacle presented itself—men living with their wives and diligently performing the internal duties of monasteries. The husband sometimes sought a place for his wife to rule over, and put nuns under the government of these 'abbesses,' who were really married lay women. The evidence of the nature of the early English double monastery in its ordinary form is less varied than that of the Gallican. It would appear probable that, without exception, abbesses presided over all those that are known in England, and administered the property which the two sexes held in common. It seems by no means improbable that in England all the houses for women were double in the first period of monasticism, for wherever any detailed evidence is forthcoming this character appears. There is no evidence that in England, as abroad, it was usual for each double monastery to have more than one church.

Of the size and character of the buildings the evidence is very scanty. The numbers of nuns and monks in each are rarely mentioned. At Ely the 'Liber Eliensis' mentions one hundred. Sexburga is said to have gathered seventy-four nuns in Thanet and Mildred seventy. The use of Whitby for the synod and housing of royal retinues points to large buildings.

In England the large number of royal ladies who entered monasteries, and in many cases became abbesses, is

a peculiar feature. Their rank, however, will not in every case explain the system which placed them in authority over the monks. Again, in many instances the monasteries were handed on from mother to daughter, or from one sister to another. Princesses were dedicated to the monastic life from their earliest years; others entered convents after years of marriage, during which they adhered to vows of virginity, others entered who were mothers, and many entered at their widowhood.

V.—THE DOUBLE MONASTERY IN GERMANY, ITALY, AND SPAIN

Of the early double monasteries east of the Rhine very little is known. Balther or Walter, a monk of Säckingen, writing the life of Fridolin, not earlier than the middle of the tenth century, describes the island of *Säckingen* as containing nuns as well as monks, and speaks of Fridolin as occupying himself with the temporal concerns of the nuns; but their relations are very vaguely described, and it would be rash indeed to name a date. A nun Haberilla, said to have been veiled by St. Gall, may possibly have founded a double house at a place called by some Babinchrova (*Benken*), by others Augia Major, Brigantia or *Bregenz*, near Lake Constance; but her story is not clear.¹ Two old necrologies name both abbesses and abbots of the Monasterium Brigantinum. Haberilla is called abbess. In 742 Benken seems to have been for monks only.²

In all probability no part of the story of St. Otilia, supposed to have founded a double monastery at *Hohenburg* in Alsace, is trustworthy.³

¹ *Acta SS.* Bolland, II. January, 1033; Lecointe, *Ann.* 622, No. ix.; *Ann.* ii. 122, s. an. 743; *Gall. Christ.* v. 970.

² Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch S. Gall.* i. 7, 12. The Salzburg cases break down. A nunnery was founded by St. Rupert, Bishop of Salzburg, and by S. Erentrude, said to have been his sister, at Nunnberg, outside the walls, in the sixth or seventh century, but appears to have been separate from the monastery for men. Hund, *Metrop. Salisb.* ii. 594; Basnage, *Thes. Mon.* III. ii. 271; *Acta*, III. i. 348; *Acta SS.* Bolland, V. 580. See, too, *Ann.* i. 611.

³ Roth, *Alsacia*, 1856, p. 91. See Eckenstein, p. 240.

At *Pfalzel*, near Trêves, was a double monastery under an Abbess Adela, who died 734, to whom Elfleda, Abbess of Whitby, addressed a letter commanding a travelling abbess to her care. As usual, it had two churches¹—dedicated, the one to St. Peter and St. Paul, the other to the Virgin. In the life of St. Boniface an account is given of his visit to Pfalzel. The disciples of Boniface coming from England established at least one large monastery for men and women. The plan of their organisation in all probability as a rule followed the pattern set at Wimborne, where many of the founders had been brought up. That this was so is, however, only certain in one case—that of the monastery of *Heidenheim*. The founder of this house was Wunnibald, a native of Wessex, whose sister Walpurga was one of the ladies sent from the double monastery of Wimborne, at Boniface's request, to join in his mission 748.² Wunnibald founded Heidenheim about 752. Probably during his lifetime his sister Walpurga took charge of nuns in an adjoining house, for at his death in 761³ she was made abbess of the male and female house at Boniface's request. Her brother Willibald, a traveller in Palestine, was made Bishop of Eichstädt, and on the death of his brother assisted in the enlargement of the house at Heidenheim. The lives of the two brothers were written by a nun of the house who was related to them. The nun speaks of her information as derived from Willibald himself, and says she wrote at his dictation in the monastery of Heidenheim, as the deacons and others, Willibald's juniors, are witnesses. The information for Wunnibald's life she got from his sister and from venerable men who knew him well.⁴

At the elevation of Wunnibald's relics Walpurga was there, together with her female friends and the juniors she taught, who all were allowed to kiss the body. A woman, a

¹ *Mon. Mogunt.* ed. Jaffé, ep. 8; Hauck, *Kirchengesch.* i. 277; Rettberg, *Kirchengesch.* i. 477.

² *Mon. Mogunt.* p. 490.

³ Hauck, *Kirchengesch.* i. 491; *Acta*, III. ii. 365, 368.

⁴ *Acta*, III. ii. 176, c. 21.

relative of Wunnibald, was cured by his relics, and, according to a subsequent account by the Abbot Adalbert, became a nun of Heidenheim ; it is thought that this nun was the above-named authoress. In the life of Walpurga by a writer of the end of the ninth century¹ an anecdote is related which shows that she had some difficulty in getting the men to obey her. A certain 'custos' refused to light the lamps for the church when ordered, and was only persuaded to do so by a miracle. On the death of the abbess, about 780, the house fell into decay. A portion of Walpurga's relics was removed to another double house, that of a nun Liubila at *Morvenheim* or Mauheim, in Bavaria. There were present at the removal the whole 'familia' of both sexes.²

No such explicit phrases are used in the biography of Lioba, and the method of organisation used by her at *Bischofsheim* and in the other houses under her control and under the control of her nuns remains uncertain. It is natural to expect that the system to which they had been accustomed at Wimborne would be used by them abroad. It is also improbable that, in the disturbed state of the newly converted Thuringia, this house was left without the protection of an adjoining house of men. On the other hand, one or two passages in Lioba's life point to the conclusion that the nuns performed certain of the priestly functions themselves. The story told by Lioba's biographer is, however, very remarkable, and in any case illustrates the popular opinion of monasteries. The dead body of a baby was washed ashore at the gate of the monastery which adjoined the river. The common people at once supposed a nun guilty, and mocked at the nuns who took upon themselves the office of mothers and of priests, and baptised the very children they themselves had borne.³ It would seem from this that Bischofsheim was not served by a body of regulars constantly at hand, and that the nuns were blamed for

¹ *Acta*, III. ii. 287.

² *Acta SS. Bolland*, February, III. 516.

³ 'Matrum pariter ac presbyterorum fungentes officium, eosdem quos generaverint, ipse baptizant.'

performing priestly functions.¹ The rest of the story bears this out. Since it was thought that one of the nuns had drowned the child to conceal her sin, to assure the people of the nuns' innocence, Lioba ordered the whole body of nuns to stand praying for hours with arms extended in the form of a cross. Lioba herself stood, wearing a cope. One nun only was absent, staying with her relations, Agatha—perhaps Lioba's successor, a nun of Wimborne, and a pupil of Tetta. Lioba felt perfectly assured of her innocence, but she was sent for. A woman who was guilty of the crime, after witnessing the prayers of the nuns, confessed.

The date of Lioba's foundation of Bischofsheim is believed to be 748. Her biographer says that her disciples were preferred for new monasteries before all others. Kings, nobles, and bishops consulted her on divine mysteries and ecclesiastical institutes. Lioba's correspondence with her relative Boniface is one of the most beautiful things in literature, for her letters breathe a spirit of profound trust and devotion towards her friend and adviser—her brother, as she would fain regard him. When Boniface left Fulda on his last mission, he commended Lioba specially to the care of his monks there, and begged that they might be buried in the same tomb. After his death in 755, Lioba, accompanied by two nuns, was permitted by the monks of Fulda to lodge in a cell near by and to attend the services of their church. Weighed down by the cares of her abbacy, she retired to a house at Scornesheim or Schonersheim, four miles south of Mainz. The last sacrament was administered to her by an English priest, Tortbert; she died about 782. The monks of Fulda buried her, but refused to open the tomb of Boniface, as Lioba had hoped they would do. She is described as very small in stature, but remarkably attractive, with a pretty face and a pleasant voice. Moderation in eating and drinking was a great virtue of hers, and her little cup bore the inscription: 'To Lioba the Little, because she was moderate in all indulgences, especially in anger and laughter.' She had

¹ Canons were on several occasions directed against this abuse.

studied grammar, the Old and New Testaments, the sentences of the Fathers, and the rules of her order. Her life was written—at the request of Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda—by Rudolph, a monk of that house, who obtained his material from her disciples Agatha, Tecla, Nana, and Eoliba, and from Mago, who had known Lioba himself.¹

A nunnery at Milize (*Mils*), in the diocese of Eichstt, was founded by Emhilda, a nun of Lioba at Bischofsheim. She handed it over to the Abbot of Fulda in 783 by will, stipulating that the nuns should choose their abbess with the advice of the priests (of Fulda), that is, their spiritual masters.² A capitulary of 803³ forbade boys to be brought up in nunneries; and with the reform of Benedict of Aniane, and Amalarius, aided by Louis the Pious, a strenuous effort was made to regulate nunneries so that they should be completely separated from monasteries. In 816 Amalarius' rule for nuns, cap. 27, orders that the priests and their 'ministri' who serve the masses of nuns must live outside the nunnery, and have churches where they may dwell with their 'ministri.' They may enter the women's house only at fixed times, must leave the church when service was over, must administer confession only in the church, save to the sick, and in that case in the presence of witnesses.

In 822 the attempted revival of the double monastery at Soissons led to an imitation at *Herford* or Heriford, in the old Duchy of Saxony, where a house was founded by Adalhard, Abbot of Corvei, and Wala his brother, over which an Abbess Tetta was placed, who followed the organisation which she had been taught at Soissons.⁴

A German double monastery existed in 1073 at *Wessobrunn*, in the diocese of Augsburg, where a learned nun, Diemud,

¹ *Acta*, III. ii. 246.

² *Ann.* ii. 268. See Rettberg, ii. 346; Le Cointe, vi. 244, on its false charter.

³ Cap. 7. See *Mon. Ger. Leges*, i. 124.

⁴ *Acta*, IV. i.; *Ann.* ii. 471. Mabillon dates the house 836. For an account of a translation of relics of St. Pusenna to the nuns' house, written by a monk of Corvei, see *Acta SS.* Bolland, April, 23, p. 170; Eckenstein, p. 147.

was writing. A monk, writing of her, says: 'Our monastery was double, or divided into two parts; that is to say, of monks and nuns. The place of the monks was where it now is; the place of the nuns where the parish church now stands.' Diemud wrote books for the common church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and for the monastic library. In a catalogue of Tegernsee, a neighbouring monastery, Diemud is described as professed of St. Peter's, Wessobrun, buried in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, annexed to the chapter house and vulgarly called Alt Münster.¹

The existence of double monasteries in *Italy* has been denied.² They certainly were not generally established in Italy, but there are traces of the existence of a few houses for men and women under a common rule. They certainly existed in Sardinia, where Gregory the Great was anxious to suppress them.³

Nothing is known of St. Benedict's relations with nuns, save what is told in Gregory's 'Dialogues.' The story of St. Scholastica, Benedict's sister, throws no light on the subject; but the story of the two nuns who were excommunicated is worth citing. They were leading a religious life 'in loco proprio,' and a religious man, presumably a monk, ministered to their temporal needs.⁴ He was provoked at their love of talking, and when St. Benedict was told of their conduct he threatened them with excommunication—by what authority is not clear. They did not amend, and after a few days they died and were buried in the church, where, when the monk, who was also a deacon, in the course of mass called on all who did not mean to communicate to leave, he saw them get up from their graves and leave the church. To what community the monastic deacon belonged we are not told, but it would appear that he belonged to that of St. Benedict; and in

¹ Pez, *Thes. Anecdot.* I. xx.; Hardy, *Catalogue*, III. xxx.

² Varin; Muratori, *Ant. Ital. Med. Æv.* v. 527.

³ In the *Dialogues*, i. 4, Gregory tells several stories of Equitius, abbot of a monastery in the province of Valeria, which point to a close connection between his monks and a house of nuns.

⁴ Migne, *Pat. Lat.* lxvi. 193; *Dial.* ii. 33, 34, col. 178.

that case the monks of Monte Cassino did perform spiritual and also temporal functions for nuns in their neighbourhood.

The letters of Gregory the Great speak more than once with disfavour of double monasteries in *Sardinia*. Writing to Januarius, Bishop of Cagliari, he congratulates him on his refusal to allow a monastery to be made in the house of Epiphanius, Januarius' lector, lest the nunnery should be attached to it. Gregory learns that Pompeia, a nun, probably the head of the nunnery, is willing to move, and proposes arrangements to suit both monks and nuns.¹

Adalwald, King of Lombardy, and his mother, Theodolinda, erected a church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, in *Modoetia* or *Monza*, near Milan, 613, granting the property as long as the priests, serving there day and night, as well as the male and female servants (*famuli et famulæ*) who submitted there (to rule), should dwell in common.²

In 640 a certain Agibod, a monk, governed a nunnery. He had been brought up under St. Columban. At his death were present brethren and 'coelicolæ' (female servants of God). The brethren were clearly monks.³

In 664 Hadrian, anxious to escape the care of the English archbishopric, suggested in his stead a certain monk Andrew, belonging to a neighbouring monastery of virgins.⁴

Reate, a nunnery subject to the monastery of Farfa, contained a husband and wife—the husband as abbot, the wife as a nun—in 751.⁵

At St. Julia's, *Brescia*, in 772, an abbess and a *praepositus* are mentioned in a privilege to that place.⁶

At a nunnery (Medense) fourteen miles from Milan two brothers who had founded the house became monks in 776.⁷

¹ *Ep.* xi. 25.

² Baronius, *Ann.* 616, from Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Langobard*, IV. c. 22. Mabillon (in *Ann.* i. 301, s. an. 613) questions if this alludes to monks.

³ *Acta*, II. 164.

⁴ Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 1. Beda calls other double monasteries 'monasteria virginum.'

⁵ *Ann.* ii. 154.

⁶ *Ibid.* 225.

⁷ *Ibid.* 236.

In Italy, as in Gaul, the defence of nunneries was often placed in the hands of monasteries.¹

The monastic system did not take root in Spain till the sixth century.² In 524 a canon of the Council of Lerida³ shows that laymen had already begun to see a possibility of exempting their estates from secular and ecclesiastical interference if they converted them nominally into monastic foundations.

The canon forbids laymen to withdraw those churches which have been consecrated for them from the control of the bishop, under the pretext that they are monastic churches, though they do not in reality contain a single monk. It appears then that the 'false monasteries,' in which the head of the family called himself abbot, living with his own family and under no rule, a fruitful source of difficulty to England as well as to Spain, began to give trouble in Spain at a very early date. The object of this canon, however, may be rather to check claims of exemption from diocesan jurisdiction than claims to exemption from tribute. In Spain the family monastery and the double monastery are at first hardly to be separated.

In the sixth century there occurs an isolated mention of an Abbess Hositia, 'abbess of a flock of monks,' who is named in a charter of the nunnery of St. Julian de Pedrenales, 537.

By 619 they had become so far usual that in the Council of Seville an attempt was made to control them in the province of Boetica. It is ordered that these monasteries, governed and administered by monks, must be so arranged that the private property of monks and nuns is distinct, and that the monks do not have access as a rule even so far as to the nuns' vestibule. All conversation between the abbot and abbess must take place in the presence of two or three sisters. Such conversation must be short, infrequent, and on business.

¹ Muratori, *Ant. Ital.* v. 527; *Mus. Ital.* p. 35; and *Ann.* ii. 147. Another nunnery under the protection of Monte Cassino was S. Sophia's, Beneventum, 775 (*Ann.* ii. 147).

² C. Canni, *De Antig. Eccles. Hisp.* i. 123. There may have been a few monasteries still earlier (Scarmaglio, *Vind. Antiq. Mon.* 1752).

³ Conc. Ilerda, can. 3; Hefele, ii. 706; Gams, II. i. 438.

The property of the nuns in town or country, and their buildings, should be protected by a monk chosen for that purpose, that the nuns may not be disturbed with secular affairs. In return the nuns thus protected should make the clothes for the monks who see after them.¹

It is the second rule of St. Fructuosus, which dates from the middle of the seventh century, that offers most information on the subject of the relations between the sexes in Spanish double monasteries. Fructuosus' own monastery was situated in a desert between Seville and Cadiz at a place called Nono, nine miles from the sea. Here both men and women gathered, not only singly, but in whole families. Fructuosus insisted on dividing the families, taking fathers and sons together under his rule, and putting their wives and daughters under the rule of Benedicta,² who soon had eighty nuns.³

In his second rule (the first applied to male monasteries only) he describes the dangers of the practice of making private houses into monasteries, of which the so-called monks and nuns were merely the family and their servants. He says that some persons, for fear of Gehenna, are in the habit of making monasteries in their own houses ; they join with their wives, children, and neighbours in a sacramental bond of union, consecrate churches in their own villas, and call them falsely monasteries. These persons submit to no rule, give nothing to the poor—nay, rob them—and seek more gain for their wives and children than if they lived in the world. They hold property by agreement in common, but rob one another, and use the force of the sword to oblige their relations to join them. He adds that secular priests encourage the establishment of monasteries in villas without leave of the bishop, for fear that they will otherwise lose their tithes. To check this state of affairs was not in

¹ Isidore, who presided over the council, writes in similar terms of prevailing practices in his *De Eccles. Offic.* II. c. 16; Hefele, iii. 72; Aguirre, ii. 462; Gonzalez, *Colección de Canones*, p. 666, *sqq.*; Gams, iii. 88.

² Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xv. 145; Antonio, *Bibl. Vet. Hisp.* i. 383.

³ Gams, II. ii. 153.

Fructuosus' power, but he insisted that all who would be monks or nuns—rich or poor, married or single—should wait outside the walls of the monastery, and serve a novitiate of three days and three nights. He then gives a scheme by which it should be possible for whole families, really stimulated by religious zeal, to enter the monastic life at one time and continue to dwell in a kind of family unity.

A man coming with a wife and sons under seven years of age and desiring to enter a monastery must place himself entirely under the rule of the abbot, who must make clear to him that they henceforth relinquish their own wills, that they shall no longer think of their food and clothing, of their temporal wealth, or their landed property, which they have left and relinquished once and for all. They are to live as guests and pilgrims in the monastery; parents must not be anxious for their sons, nor the sons for their parents. Sons and parents may not talk together without the prior's leave. Very small children may go when they like to father or mother, for parents murmur greatly if this is not allowed. Parents must help to teach their children the monastic rule and urge them by all means to adhere to the monastery where they will in future dwell. It is a cellarer's duty to see to the welfare of the children, the aged, the infirm, and guests, and to provide the regulated meals.

In a very large monastery a junior must be appointed to look after the food of the little ones. The children should have their own Decanus, who should teach them the rule and whip them.

In another chapter, headed 'How Monasteries of Men and Girls ought to be kept,' the separation of their buildings is insisted on. Monks may not dwell with sisters in one monastery, nor have a common oratory; they must not dwell under one roof, nor under one lock and key. Monks should never eat in the one dining-room with the nuns whom they have to take care of, nor should monks and nuns labour together at the enjoined tasks. They must arrange so that one 'classis' does not talk with the other—their voices

mingling only in recitation, song, groans, or sighs. A monk must not talk with a nun alone, under pain of one hundred strokes of the lash.

Where there are monks and nuns dwelling together in one monastery, the dwellings must be kept well apart, and those monks who serve the nuns must be the few and the perfect, elected by the many ; they must be men who have grown old in the monastery. They must so dwell in the monastery of girls that they may serve them as carpenters and do hospitality to brethren coming on visits. They must be watchful over the young of both sexes. The sisters are to have no licence to wander without the abbot's blessing, and must not kiss men or talk with them. Those who do otherwise will be punished according to rule.

The practice of kissing the hand in greeting¹ between Spanish monks and nuns seems to have been sanctioned under particular circumstances. It is decreed that when occasion requires any monks to come to the nunnery, the customary greeting is to be so arranged that the nuns do not come forward separately, but first the abbess and then the whole body of nuns. This rule was to apply only to monks coming from a distance, not to those who dwelt near. When the time came for the monks to retire to their own cells the same greeting was allowed. When monks and sisters are united in one congregation to hear the Word of Salvation they are to sit in different choirs, so as to separate the sexes. None of the abbots or brethren may presume to offer a kiss to the abbess without the order of the seniors, nor to lay his head on a sister's bosom as if by agreement (*veluti pacto*), nor may the nuns touch with their hands the head or dress of a monk *ad excomplanandum*, whatever that may mean. If one of the monks fall ill, either in his own or in a distant monastery, he must not lie in the monastery of nuns, lest his body grow well and his soul sick. All sick monks must lie in a monastery of men, unvisited by any relation, by strangers, or by maids. If, however, it should happen that a woman is sent by the

¹ Eulogius, 'Memorale,' in *Bibl. Pat. Max.* xv. 266.

abbess with broth for the sick man, she may, in the presence of a male servant, give it to him, but not venture to stay with him. The same rule holds for gifts from monks and sick nuns. Finally, Fructuosus concludes with an exhortation to monks and nuns to dwell together in chastity.¹

The abuse of the monastic system by laymen continued, in spite of attempts to repress it. In 695 complaint was made by Valerius that families turned themselves into monasteries.² The information concerning early Spanish monasteries is extremely scanty, but it would appear that double monasteries of the type described by Fructuosus did not cease to exist, for at the end of the eighth century many of them were flourishing. In 782 a charter comes from a monastery in the diocese of Compostella in Galicia, *S. Salvador de Superado*, recording grants made by the brethren and sisters, and signed by an abbot with his monks and an abbess with her nuns.³ Another charter, 796, of the monastery of Fistoles was made to an abbot and nun.⁴

In the ninth century there was near Cordova a group of well-regulated double monasteries,⁵ centres of spiritual life and the homes of a group of celebrated male and female martyrs to the Saracen persecution under Abderraman II. *Tabanos*, near Cordova, was founded by a husband and wife, Jeremy and Elizabeth, who retired together with all their children and several relations, including Martin, Elizabeth's brother. Elizabeth ruled the females and Martin the males.

The houses of the males and females were separated by high walls, but the abbot had a certain amount of control over the nuns. The sexes were not allowed to see each other; and if the nuns had need of the brethren, or hospitality was asked, Elizabeth showed herself at a window to convey

¹ Holsten, *Cod. Reg.* i. 208-19.

² *Ann.* i. 404.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 264.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 324. Vepes, *Coron. General de la Orden de S. Benito*, iii.

331.

⁵ Vepes, *ibid.* iv. 108, calls all the monasteries in Cordova double. He argues (iv. 106, sqq.) against ascribing them to the rule of St. Basil.

the required messages.¹ Here, as Eulogius says, 'Viri cum mulieribus Christo militatū conferunt,' and the best monastic discipline was followed, so that the fame of the house spread in the West. Amongst the female martyrs it produced was Columba, sister of Elizabeth and Martin, a great lover of learning, who died September 17, 853.² Eugenius describes her zeal in monastic virtue and her earnestness in prayer; she was rarely angry, except with children or negligent sisters. With the consent of the sisters she was allowed to dwell in a separate cell. Another was Digna,³ martyred June 14, 853; and another St. Sabigotho, the wife of a zealous Christian, Aurelius, who dwelt in Cordova.

At the joint invitation of Martin and Elizabeth a monk, George, from the great monastery of St. Saba, near Jerusalem, visited the house and had an interview with Sabigotho, which made him decide to join her and her husband in submitting to persecution. They all died on July 27, 852.

Jeremy, Elizabeth's husband, was martyred,⁴ and a monk of Tabanos, St. Fandila,⁵ who had been summoned from Tabanos to teach the monastic life in a new double monastery at Pennamelaria (*Pilemellar*), a house founded by a father and mother who retired thither with their daughter Pomposa. There they all lived together with their relatives, brothers and cognates.⁶ Owing to the carelessness of a monk, S. Pomposa managed to unlock the gate at night and effect her purpose in offering herself to martyrdom.⁷ The house was arranged so that the two sexes were divided by a high wall, but both were ruled by an abbot.

The monastery of *Cuteclara St. Mary* closely resembled Tabanos in its arrangements. While the Abbot Frugellus ruled the men, Artemia, the mother of SS. Adulphus, John, and Aurea—all of this house—ruled over the nuns. All her

¹ Eulogius, *Mem.* iii, 10.

² *Acta SS.* Bolland, September, V. 618.

³ *Mem.* iii. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii, 10, June 7.

⁵ June 13, 853.

⁶ *Esp. Sag.* vii. App. i.

⁷ *Mem.* III. ii. October 16, 853.

children died martyrs, July 19, 856.¹ In this house lived St. Mary and her brother the deacon Walabonus, and the priest Peter—all martyred with St. Flora, November 24, 851.² After this extraordinary outburst of zeal, known to us through the writings of Eulogius, who himself died a martyr in 859, Spanish monasticism again becomes difficult to study because of the dearth of information.

Two double monasteries, S. Marta and S. Pedro, in *Bierzo* (Astorga), are mentioned by Yepes.³

Yepes refers to *S. Maria de la Salceda* as a double monastery, where Hermenegildo lived as a monk and was buried with his brothers, 943.⁴

S. Palayo de Oviedo, founded 798, in the first instance as a nunnery, in 996 was double.⁵ Here the monks celebrated masses for the nuns in the church of S. Maria, the nuns celebrating their own hours in separation.

At *Oña*, in Burgos, in the monastery of S. Salvador, founded 1002-1011, monks and nuns lived, as in a double monastery. In 1032 the nuns had abandoned severe discipline, and under the reform of Paternus were removed.⁶

In 1033 there was a double monastery at *S. Maria de Obona*, in Asturia.⁷ In 1071 it was still double. A document is extant in which an abbot and abbess of *S. Salvador de Berguño* make an exchange with an abbot and abbess of *S. Maria de Obona*, 1064, 'pro sustentatione monachorum et religiosarum fratrum vel sororum in ipso loco habitantium.'

In Navarre *Oniensum* was double, 1011⁸; St. Michael's, on the river Estola, in the valley of Ardon, in the village called *Vecela*, connected with S. Isidore's, Leon, was double during the century 963-1063.⁹

¹ *Mem.* iii. 17; *Esp. Sag.* ix. App. 8, No. 1, x. 260.

² *Mem.* ii. 8.

⁴ *Coron. Gen.* v. f. 65, col. 3.

⁵ Florez, xxvii. p. 125; Yepes, *Coron.* v. 319; Mabillon, *Ann. sub an.* 1022, 1033; M. Olasgoaca, ii. 2, 419.

⁷ *Coron.* iii. 276, col. 2, 3.

⁸ Mabillon, *Ann.* iv. 222.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 649. A. de Yepes writes that he has heard of more than two hundred double monasteries in Spain.

³ *Esp. Sag.* xvi. 68.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 337, col. 2.

Summary.—It is not my purpose here to discuss the history of the great orders that in later times developed this system of organisation in full elaboration—the orders of Sempringham, of Fontevrault, and of the Brigittines. But the later evidence, like the earlier, bears out, it would seem, the view that double monasteries arose in many countries and at many times as the natural sequel to an outburst of religious enthusiasm. With the establishment of orders and the use of written rules, the elasticity of the primitive idea was abandoned in favour of what were in the main more practical and less ideal conceptions.

With almost all the great movements of spiritual revival, there was a recrudescence of the conception of a purer form of chastity in the shape of a fresh development of this particular method of monastic organisation. In Southern Gaul it followed, as I believe, upon the infusion of Eastern monasticism as taught by St. Cassian and by him reconciled with Western ideas. It was systematised, I suspect, by St. Cæsarius at Arles; it revived and took its strongest hold after the spiritual renaissance which followed the landing of St. Columban. Wherever the apostles of Irish monasticism went, this form of organisation followed—not because it was one which originated with and peculiarly belonged to the Irish, but because it could live only in the purest spiritual atmosphere. The double monasteries of England began in the north, under the stimulating religious influence of the missionaries from Iona; but in the conflict between the Roman and Irish movements the organisation survived and reached its fullest development after the synod of Whitby. The form of organisation was not recognised as a form peculiar to the followers of the defeated Irish movement, or it would have been an added source of hostility between the rival parties. The synod to decide the differences of the two schools was held in a double monastery presided over by Hilda, the first organiser of the English monasteries of this form. In a short space of time England was covered with them, and the organisation was accepted by so ardent a

disciple of the strictest form of the Benedictine rule as Wilfrid, who was a friend and teacher of Etheldreda, the foundress of the double monastery of Ely, and the friend of Ebba, who ruled that of Coldingham. Boniface also accepted this form, and sent specially for Wimborne nuns. Through their teaching, and as the outcome of the religious influence of their master, it took hold in Germany. In Spain the atmosphere which developed the greater number of double monasteries was not a missionary atmosphere, but one of persecution and martyrdom. Subsequently the double monastery reappears with the religious revivals which gave birth to new orders; it is notably absent from the revivals which were directed rather to systematisation than to new spiritual conceptions—for instance, from the revival under Benedict of Aniane, and again from the revival in England under Ethelwold. The later history of the double monastery shows the continual fluctuation of opinion on the question of the desirability of this form of organisation. The rapid alternation of cycles of success and of failure in the struggle after a particular form of chastity, and the various regulations by which it was hoped to protect these communities against danger and temptation, are of peculiar interest in the history of morals. Much of the evidence is scanty, scrappy, and disjointed, until the period of written rules and distinct orders is reached; but evidence which, taken by itself, would be uninteresting and valueless, is of importance as going to prove the wide geographical area over which these moral experiments were made, in a chronological series never long broken.

THE RELATIONS OF THE CROWN TO TRADE UNDER JAMES I

(*The Alexander Prize Essay for 1898*)

BY F. HERMIA DURHAM

I

THE reign of James I., covering the first quarter of the seventeenth century, coincides with the period of perhaps the greatest economic confusion in our history. The seeds of England's future greatness as a commercial nation and maritime power had been sown under Elizabeth's rule. In James's reign it was yet too soon for these to bear fruit. It was a critical period for the country which was undergoing an apprenticeship in commerce, trade, and industry. It was as yet doubtful whether she would surmount the difficulties with which she was beset, or whether she would be crushed by their weight.

The reign of Elizabeth had been one of constant foreign danger to the country; James aimed at and indeed succeeded in establishing and maintaining peace with all foreign nations. Yet a contemporary pamphleteer of James's reign complained: 'When was it seen a land soe distressed without wars?'

It is only by reference to the wide and far-reaching changes which were altering the aspect of affairs, both at

¹ Sir Ralph Maddison, 'Note concerning the helpes of trade,' July 1623.
Add. MSS. 34324.

Seeley, *Growth of British Policy*, vol. i. p. 248: 'Except in Ireland the wars of Elizabeth were to her people almost like peace . . . within the country there were few signs of a state of war . . . nor were the pursuits of peace suspended. . . . The naval war, so far from checking the development of the nation, was the very ferment which promoted it,' &c.

home and abroad, that some meaning can be read into the ever increasing economic confusion of the period. These were the underlying causes of the difficulties of the time; but their importance was magnified in England by the failure of the government to grasp the fact of their existence. It was impossible to apply the theories of the sixteenth century to the conditions of the seventeenth. This fact was only learned slowly and painfully, and the lesson was not fully driven home until the chief industry of the country had been jeopardised. It must be said in justice to James, that if he did not understand the difficulties of the time, neither did his ministers, nor could any agreement herein be found among the practical men of the time.

The changes to which reference has been made may be summed up as the after-effects of the discovery of the New World and of the Reformation. The economic importance of the Reformation at this period lies in the mingling of the nations and in the readjustment of the map of Europe which resulted from it. The wars of religion gave birth to a nation destined to take a leading place among the commercial nations of Europe and to be throughout the seventeenth century England's most formidable rival.¹

The immediate impulse given to commerce and enterprise of all kinds by the discovery of the New World was enormous. Besides this, there were also after-effects which, though more slow to make themselves felt, were equally important. Among these were the changes consequent on the increased supply of precious metals from the American mines. The first quarter of the seventeenth century is remarkable as being a period of currency disorder and frequently recurring monetary crises throughout Western Europe. England did not escape among the nations, but rather suffered more acute

¹ Th. Rogers, *Industrial and Commercial Hist. of England*, p. 89. Indirectly as well as directly the wars of religion &c. furthered the rise of the Dutch as a commercial nation. 'Flanders was ruined by Alva, the Spanish Inquisition, and the wars of religion. But the ruin of Flanders was the making of Holland.'²

and longer periods of currency disturbance than were experienced on the Continent. For this the action of the Crown towards trade was partly accountable.

Under Elizabeth a definite course of trade policy had been formulated and pursued with considerable success. The Elizabethan trade policy was part of the general scheme of an imperial policy. Trade was encouraged and developed because thereby the power and the wealth of the nation would be increased. The ideal which Elizabeth and her ministers had in view was the building up of the nation in strength and wealth so as to render her secure against foreign invasion. Trade was to be encouraged only so far as it served this end. Thus such industries as fostered the growth of a population strong in numbers and physique were regarded with favour. Above all it was important that trade should be so regulated as both to swell the custom revenues and to supply the country with a store of gold and silver; for the precious metals represented wealth and power in the eyes of Elizabeth and her advisers. This was the keynote of the trade policy of Western Europe in the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth centuries, and the frequent wars of the period gave it some justification. At the close of her reign a great advance in the trade and commerce of the nation had taken place. But in this as in other matters Elizabeth left a legacy of difficulties to her successor, and James unfortunately was little fitted to cope with them.

The Elizabethan policy was adopted by James and his ministers, and followed more or less consistently throughout the reign. That it was not wholly successful is due to the fact that it was not pursued with firmness or insight. Many vacillations and deviations occurred owing to the needs of the king's purse, and to the vagaries of his foreign policy, as well as to James's characteristic weakness of purpose and want of decision.

James not only had little understanding of the economic conditions with which he had to deal, but seldom directed his full attention to these matters, other interests and difficulties

taking always a more prominent place in his mind. Among these was the all-important question of the Crown revenue, which even at the beginning of the reign was insufficient to meet the ordinary demands made upon it. Elizabeth, by exercising extraordinary parsimony, had only just managed to live within her means, and James's reckless extravagance soon led him into debt.

Other difficulties, which had appeared of only slight or temporary importance under Elizabeth, assumed more formidable dimensions during James's reign. Chief among these were the scarcity of the currency, the pressure of foreign competition, and the abuses which had grown up in the internal regulation of trade.

The reign of James I. covers one phase of the struggle against the Dutch for commercial supremacy. In the struggle against foreign competition little assistance was given by the Crown. James in framing his foreign policy was guided by personal motives rather than by national motives, and, as he did not comprehend the importance of the latter, he did not scruple to sacrifice trade interests in the pursuance of his own ends.¹

II

The condition of trade at the accession of James I.

In spite of the fact that during Elizabeth's reign great expansion of trade had taken place, at the opening of the seventeenth century trade and industry were in a very unsatisfactory condition. The causes of this decay must be sought in conditions at home and abroad.

The war with Spain had closed the markets of Spain and

¹ An example of this occurred early in the reign, when, after the treaty with Spain was arranged in 1604, and trade with Spain was re-established, English merchants in Spain were maltreated at the hands of the officials of the Inquisition, and though many complaints were made, James would not take active steps for their assistance, not wishing to risk a rupture with Spain. The treaty had the important indirect effect of bringing about the truce between Spain and the Low Countries in 1608, by which the Dutch were freed temporarily from the pressure of war, and so enabled to devote their energies to the expansion of their trade, thus becoming more formidable rivals of England.

Flanders against English goods, while the edict issued by the Emperor at the instance of the Hanse towns forbade the importation of English goods into the Empire. This closing of foreign markets, moreover, had most important after-effects in leading to the manufacture abroad of goods formerly obtained from England, and thus when commerce was re-established with Spain and the Empire, English merchants found a diminished demand for their goods, and the danger to English trade of foreign competition was heightened.

At home, trade and industry were suffering from the oppressive restrictions and regulations imposed on it by the great companies and other patentees. The plan of providing machinery for trade regulation which should supersede the decayed gild organisations, by conferring exclusive trading privileges and supervisory rights on companies of merchants and private persons, had been adopted by the Tudors and Elizabeth. In this way an intricate system of trade regulation had been developed; but it was one which admitted of great abuses; for the Crown claimed absolute right of conferring patents as it seemed good, and the patentees, within the limits of their charter, had absolute and exclusive powers.

The rights granted by the Crown under letters patent were of three kinds:

(a) Rights of supervision: *e.g.* monopoly of fines for alnage, licensing of alehouses, &c. Patents of this kind were numerous, and were capable of being turned to great profit. These were frequently held by noblemen and Court favourites.

(b) Exclusive privileges of manufacturing or of trading in certain articles: *e.g.* patent for glass-making, silver thread, &c. In this way, it was pretended, trade and industries could be placed in the hands of those persons best fitted to carry them on, while protection for new processes of manufacture and new trades was also afforded.

(c) Exclusive rights of trading with foreign countries, or

along certain routes. These were granted to companies of merchants. The foreign trade of the country was thus practically divided between a few great companies who, trading under charter from the Crown, not only jealously excluded outsiders from partaking of their trades but also prevented them from obtaining admission into their fellowship. The enterprise and internal regulation of the trade was entirely in their hands, and with them rested also the burden of protecting the interests of the trade abroad.

A distinction may be drawn between the purely commercial trading companies—*e.g.* the Merchant Adventurers, Eastland &c., composed of merchants trading separately, but under regulations of the company—and the associations of adventurers, generally conducted on joint stock principles for the purpose of opening up more distant trades, discovery of new lands and planting of colonies &c.

Elizabeth, moved partly by financial motives, had largely increased the number of monopolies, to the profit of the Crown and the recipients of the patents and to the damage of the trade of the country. Accordingly an outcry was raised against the monopolists in 1597. In 1601 the House of Commons took up the matter, and Elizabeth consented to withdraw the most obnoxious of the patents. The removal of the remainder was the question agitating the Commons and a certain section of the merchant class at James's accession. The matter was represented to the king in a memorial of grievances addressed to him in May 1603.¹ The king responded by issuing a proclamation annulling all patents of monopoly granted by Elizabeth. How little James really had the matter at heart is evidenced in the fact that no steps were taken for enforcing the proclamation, and that soon afterwards he had granted a new patent to one of his Scotch favourites.² The only notable instance of surrender of charter was that of the Levant Company. There were other reasons for this. The Commons followed up the king's proclamation

¹ D. S. P. Jac. i., May 1603.

² Patent for collecting fines of alnage of new draperies to the Duke of Lennox.

by introducing a Bill in April 1604 'For all merchants to have free liberty of trade into all countries as is used in all other nations.' The discussion of the committee¹ appointed by the Commons to consider the Bill, and the evidence given before them, throws much light on the condition and distribution of trade.

This Bill was directly aimed at the overthrowing of the privileges of the great companies; among these the two most oppressive in their regulations were shown to be the Merchant Adventurers and the Muscovy Companies. For the present these were, however, powerful enough to hold their own.

The feeling in the Commons against the companies ran high and the Bill for liberty of trade was passed with a large majority, 'scarcely forty voices dissenting.' The Lords, however, demanded a conference on it, and the Bill was shelved. It was revived in a modified form in the following session, and, as a Bill providing liberty of trade with Spain, Portugal and France, received the royal assent in May 1606.

The experiment of opening the trade to all outsiders was tried in the Levant, and in the trade with Spain and the Archduchy. The Levant Company had been reorganised by Elizabeth, who had granted them the monopoly of the Venetian and Turkey trade, in return for which the company paid to the Crown 4,000*l.* a year. At the time of James's accession the Levant trade was in a bad way, and the payment to the Crown was in arrears. After the surrender of their charter it was thrown open by the king, subject only to an imposition of 5*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. on currants. The old company still continued to trade. Difficulties soon arose owing to the competition of the East India Company, and the precari-

¹ *C. J.* vol. i. p. 253. 'There was a great concourse of Clothiers and Merchants from all parts, and especially of London, who were so divided as that all clothiers and all merchants of England complained of engrossing of trade and restraint of trade by rich merchants of London, and of the London merchants three parts joined in the same complaint of the fourth part, and of the fourth part some stood stiffly for their own companies, yet repined at other companies.' See Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 187.

ousness of their tenure of privileges in the dominions of the Grand Signor, and in 1605 the disorder in the trade was so great that the merchants petitioned for the reorganisation of the company. Under the auspices of Salisbury and Popham a company was again formed in August 1605, which was open 'to all merchants in general or to as many as shall be willing to deal there upon equal and reasonable payments and conditions.' The company was to be under the control of twelve commissioners chosen by the merchants.

A second experiment to render trade free from the regulative tyranny of a chartered company was made in the Spanish trade, which was re-established after the treaty of 1604. At first a company on the same plan as that of the new Levant Company was formed at Popham's suggestion, but the Commons, having examined the patent, declared themselves dissatisfied with it, and it was revoked by the king in 1606, when the Act for liberty of trade with Spain, France and Portugal was passed, and the trade thrown open to all. The lack of organisation among the English merchants in Spain soon brought them into difficulties ; they were powerless either to defend their property and persons against the Spanish authorities and officials of the Inquisition, or to induce James to take active measures for their protection. The trade with the Archduchy was opened also by the Act. Here the merchants in their attempts to run the Dutch blockade on the Archduke's ports, fell victims to the Dutch, and in spite of their petitions to Cecil obtained no redress. James would not risk a rupture of his alliance with Spain, and did not dare take up a hostile position towards the Dutch.

These two experiments argued in favour of company trading. So long as the burden of protecting the interests of the merchants and furthering the trade abroad was held to rest on the merchants themselves and not on the Crown the company system could not be dispensed with. The weakness of the system lay in the difficulty of preventing the companies from abusing their privileges.

Other matters intervened to divert the Commons temporarily from their attack on monopolies: among these were the settlement of the Union with Scotland,¹ and the question of impositions. The dispute on the subject of impositions brought the affairs of the Levant Company again into prominence. The judgment for the Crown in Bates's case had been followed by the issue of Cecil's Book of Rates by which impositions were multiplied and systematised. The outcry raised indicates the importance of the constitutional principle involved rather than the extent of the injury done to trade.² When the Commons revived the attack on monopolies in 1614, it was also not merely on economic grounds that they opposed them, but they raised the constitutional question of the king's right of issuing patents injurious to trade. In spite of their remonstrance the Company of Merchants Trading to France, incorporated by the king in 1611 in contravention of the Act of 1606, was maintained. The dispute on the question of monopolies and impositions led to the dissolution of Parliament.

During the period of the king's personal rule, another experiment was made to break down the restrictions under which trade suffered at the hands of the companies. This was done in the interests of the cloth trade, and aimed directly against the Merchant Adventurers Company, who in consequence suffered temporary eclipse. The attempt failed and the failure was most disastrous in its effect on trade. It

¹ In the discussion of the commercial clauses of the Union with Scotland the Commons shifted from their standpoint of liberty of trade. National jealousy and dislike of the Scotch inclined them to listen to the Merchant Adventurers and other great companies, who urged that complete liberty of trade would mean ruin for the English merchants. The king desired complete commercial equality between England and Scotland. His speech to Parliament, 1607, on the subject is interesting: 'And whereas some may think this Union will prejudice some townes and corporations, it may be that a merchant or two out of Bristow or Yarmouth may have 100/- less in his packe. But if the empire gaine and become the greater, it is no matter. You see one corporation is ever against another, and no private company can be set up without some loss to another.' (*Somers' Tracts*, ii. p. 133-4.)

² For a full discussion of the subject see Gardiner, Camden Soc. vol. lxxxi, and Hall, *The Customs Revenue of England*.

is interesting inasmuch as it was the only instance of a direct attempt on the part of the Crown to combat the foreign rivals of English trade. In order to explain the circumstances under which the experiment was made and the causes which led to its failure a survey of the previous history of the cloth trade is necessary.

III

The cloth trade

Cloth was the staple industry¹ of the country and the chief article of export, but though the processes of manufacture and the standard of the material produced had been much improved under the influence of the alien immigrants² introduced for this purpose by Elizabeth and by James also, the final processes of dressing and dyeing were carried on abroad. The craft of dyeing was practised in England, but not for the best cloths, and such of these as were exported found no sale.³

The monopoly of the export trade to France, the Low Countries and Upper Germany was in the hands of the Merchant Adventurers Company, and the greater part of their export trade was in unfinished cloth and raw materials.

Under Elizabeth a feeling of hostility to the Merchant Adventurers Company at home was already aroused by the harshness of their regulations within the trade, and by the jealousy with which they guarded their monopoly against outsiders. Abroad they had to contend against the opposition of the old Hanse League (whose glory was departing) as well as against the competition of the Dutch and other foreign merchants.

¹ The cloth industry was chiefly carried on in these districts : (a) Kent, where broad cloths and mingled cloths of dyed wool were made. (b) Eastern counties, where long whites (*i.e.* undyed cloths), plunkets and coarse cloths were made. (c) Gloucestershire and western counties, where whites, plunkets and red cloths were produced. (*Statute Book*, 4 Jac. I, c. 2.) In all these districts colonies of Flemish, Dutch and Walloon artisans existed.

² Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants*, ch. iv. v.

³ This was repeatedly urged by the Merchant Adventurers in defence of their export of white cloths and raw materials.

The company was attacked on both sides at once. In 1597 the Emperor, at the instance of the Hanse towns, issued an edict forbidding the import of English cloth into his dominions. Hamburg, which had been the company's headquarters, ejected them and tried to form a league with the other Hanse towns to keep them out. The stoppage of trade which ensued was extremely serious to the company. Their enemies at home took the opportunity to press for its dissolution.¹ The clothworkers, weavers and dyers joined in this outcry. The interests of the company were obviously not identical with those of the industry.

In 1601 Elizabeth deprived them of a part of their monopoly by throwing open the Elbe and Weser trade. The interlopers made Stade² their port, and many of them visited the inland fairs of Frankfurt, Augsburg and Nuremberg.

This was the position of the company when it was attacked by the Commons in 1604. The Fellowship of Trinity House came forward in its defence, and demonstrated to the House how much the naval service and shipping of the country had benefited by the trade of the Merchant Adventurers. This turned the scale in their favour at home for the time, and abroad also the prospects of the company improved. The citizens of Stade, disregarding the imperial edict, invited them to make their head-quarters in their city. The Hanse towns were still in league against them, and even sent ambassadors to James in 1603-4 asking for licence to export 50,000 cloths yearly from England. This demand was summarily refused. Another embassy in the following year having proved equally unsuccessful, Hamburg began to repent of its decision and to negotiate for the return of the Adventurers. In 1607 they received the Emperor's sanction

¹ The 'thin end of the wedge' had already been inserted by a licence to the Earl of Cumberland by the Queen for the yearly export of 2,000 cloths—a right which was promptly 'sublet' to merchants. The company complained in vain of the overlapping of their patent.

² See Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England*, pp. 211-12. Stade was situated a little further down the river on the opposite bank from Hamburg. It was throughout this period a thorn in the side of its neighbour.

for their settlement in Stade and many privileges for the regulation of their trade. The company now at last found itself replaced on its old footing ; but its power and wealth had been much reduced by outside competition and by the consequent disorder of trade.

In 1609 the Hanse towns made one last effort against the English Adventurers. By an imperial edict they were empowered to lay an embargo on the Adventurers and their goods. Lübeck and Hamburg attempted to carry this into effect ; reprisals on the part of the English followed. Settlement was slow to be brought about. The gravity of the situation for the Merchant Adventurers was so great as to make them seriously consider a proposal of Christian IV. to settle their staple finally in Denmark. At last, in June 1611, Hamburg made overtures to the company inviting them to return there ; and the company decided to leave Stade and establish themselves at Hamburg. Here the struggle between the English Merchant Adventurers and the Hanse towns ended. The company were soon in trouble again, but in another quarter.

In spite of the war with Spain, the Dutch¹ were steadily becoming formidable rivals of the English in the cloth trade. In 1609 a nine years' truce was concluded with Spain, and the Dutch, no longer hampered by war, were free to devote all their energies to the advancement of their commerce and industries. Besides the encroachment of the Dutch on their trade, the company met with a serious rebuff in their export trade to Flanders.

In April 1612 the Archduke issued an edict forbidding the import of all English cloths except white cloths, and those were only to be permitted to pass through Antwerp instead of Dunkirk, the port chiefly resorted to by the English. This edict Trumbull, the English Resident, declared to be an attack deliberately aimed at English trade which demanded

¹ Cf. Battie, *Merchants' Remonstrance*. 'There is no greater enemy to trade than war, be it in what country it will, our neighbours the Hollanders excepted, who by so long habit of war seem to make a trade of it.'

instant action. Sir Thomas Lake argued with reason that the export of raw materials, wool &c., by the Adventurers and others had furthered the making of cloth abroad and lessened the demand for English cloth. Trumbull, in order to urge the Privy Council to action, had inquiries made into the comparative English exports and imports to and from the port of Dunkirk. The report¹ is interesting on account of the list of articles and quantities given, and, if correct, proves an alarming excess both in quantity and variety of imports over exports.

The Privy Council was slow to act, in spite of the urgency of the matter.² This was partly owing to Salisbury's death. Trumbull's papers had been sent to him, and seem to have been temporarily overlooked. Trumbull wrote again in 1612: 'Your Lordship cannot but well understand how

¹ See *Cotton MSS. Galba, E.* i. fol. 344. 'Declaration of the manufactures of these countries [*i.e.* dominions of the Archduke : and other manufactures carried out of the haven of Dunkirk to the realm of England from May 1, 1611–October 1, 1611.]

'Total value of goods exported to England, 299,521*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*

'Total value of goods exported to all other countries in the same time, 137,304*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

'Total value of merchandizes conveyed into Dunkirk from England in the same time, 84,832*l.*' (The list contains various kinds of cloth only, and 'is followed by a Memorandum, that all Bayes and somme of the perpetuanos, durances, and coloured kersies are put directly towards Italy without being spent in the Archduke's countries.)

'Ballance. The manufactures of these countries and other merchandizes doe amount in Flemish money to 5,299,321*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*

'The Summe of that which England spendeth more than all other countries, 162,077*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

'The Summe of that which the merchandize of these countries doe amount more than those of England, 55,319*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*'

² See *Lansdowne MSS. 152*, fol. 175, 'Sir Lionell Crawford [*sic*, ?Cranfield], his ballance of Trade.' This is calculated from the custom books of the Port of London, and covers the years 1605–1614. The figures show an extraordinary increase in the customs after 1611. Taking the years 1605–11 (inclusive) together, he reckoned the average annual excess of imports over exports at 34,366*l.* The excess for the year from Christmas 1612 to Christmas 1613 he reckoned at 346,283*l.* 17*s.* od. The excess for the year from Christmas 1613 to Christmas 1614 he reckoned at 413,644*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.*

Compare also statistics of exports and imports at Hamburg for the year 1611, given in Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England*, pp. 354–357.

much the banishment of our cloth from here doth prejudice the state of England, both for that it may encourage other Princes to do the lyke, and it is verie probable that if this industrious people may soon attaine the true making of fyne cloth, they will undoubtedly eat us out of all trade and commerce in divers parts of Christendome'—a prophecy which was before long verified. Various suggestions for retaliation on the Archduke were made.¹

Meanwhile at home things were going badly with the company. Complaints against them on account of their oppressive dealings with the clothiers and weavers &c. were numerous; they had to face the hostility also of the numerous interlopers and the Company of Merchants of the Staple, who, although much decayed in wealth, still had many supporters. The prospect of home trade was bad. Distress in the clothing districts caused by the stoppages in the export of cloth was increasing, and actual monetary scarcity prevailed.

The problem of the balance of trade occupied the minds of statesmen and merchants, for while the cloth trade, which was estimated to form nine-tenths² of English export trade, was being taken from their hands, the amount of imported luxuries was enormously increased.

Matters were at this pass when Cockayne and his associates brought forward a scheme for reforming the cloth trade by remedying the excess of imports and checking the insolence of the foreigner. It was proposed to forbid in the future the

¹ See *Harl. MSS.* 295, fol. 71. 'Cloth is the chief manufacture of England, and Lawnes and Cambrics of the Archduke's dominions, therefore the King should banish lawns and cambrics.' The Archduke, it is estimated, by his edict lost at the rate of 7,000*l.* per annum, but within a year he repaired that revenue by granting a passport to a private man for the bringing in of 2,000 whites, for which double licence was paid. 'His majestie by the banishing of Lawnes and Cambrics shall lose 5,000*l.* per an. (which is paid for the custom and imposition). But the revenue may be made up with treble so much if his Majestie wilbe pleased to observe the same course for the dispensing with the coming in of Lawnes and Cambrics, viz. after they have been banished four months, to grant a license to a private man for the bringing in of 25,500 pieces. The banishing of Lawnes and cambrics will so gawle the Archduke and his subjects,' &c. . . .

² See 'Sir Lionell Crawford, his ballance of Trade.'

export of undyed and unfinished goods and of all kinds of raw material ; to carry on all the processes of cloth-making within the country and to export only finished goods. The project is set forth at length in a tract entitled 'The Benefitt which will redound to your majesticie and the commonwealth by this new trade of clothing.' A great increase of customs was promised to the king, and it was hoped that many thousands of poor people would be set on work. The promoters undertook 'at their own means' to set up the trade of clothing in forty cities and borough towns.¹

The plan was eagerly taken up by the Privy Council and was seriously considered by ministers and by the king himself. The scheme in itself was no new one, but it was unfortunate that it found sufficiently powerful supporters to push it at a time when the trade was in a critical condition and unable to bear the strain necessary for its successful execution.

The notes of some of the debates in Council preserved among the *Cæsar* papers cover the rise and fall of the scheme. The arguments for and against the new company are interesting and the notes show that a real attempt was made to sift the question thoroughly before action was taken.

The advice of leading merchants and of various companies was asked.² The East India Company certified their opinion (January 1614) 'that the realm shall receive more benefit by dressing of clothes at home than by sending them

¹ See *Cæsar Papers*, Add. MSS. 14027, fol. 271. 'It is intended that not only all sort of clothiers, but all others whomsoever shall from tyme to tyme have free liberty to come and peruse the work at their pleasure whereby they may set the same up when and where they please.'

It was proposed that the king should assign to them, for the furtherance of the project, 'the third part of money to be rayased by the sales of the lands tenements and hereditaments payable to his Majesty.'

² Add. MSS. 14027, fol. 263. The question of the legality of the scheme to export dressed cloths in contravention of the charter of the Merchant Adventurers Company was disposed of by Sir E. Coke, who was an ardent supporter of the scheme, thus : the company in exporting only white cloths and raw materials had not fulfilled their charter, and 'a charter gotten and not pushed loseth his force for things transportable for the Commonwealth's good.'

unwrought abroad.' The Turkey, Spanish and Eastland Companies sent in a certificate to like effect. The French Company answered cautiously that 'if it would not hinder the trade we doubt it would be better to have our cloths dressed and dyed in England.' The Merchant Adventurers were the only company which did not produce a like certificate. Their answer to the Council's inquiries took the form of a petition against the change. They knew better than the others how great was the risk involved and moreover they themselves had much to lose. In answer to the king's question in Council, July 9, 1614, 'Will it be profitable to the Commonwealth, if feasible?', they answered in the negative, alleging that the English workmanship was not good enough, that the foreigners already bought but few dressed cloths, as they wished to set their own people on work; and so on. 'Our merchants find by experience, that, were it not for our white cloths, our coloured would be banished.' The promoters of the new scheme promised a gain of 300,000*l.* 'Shall for this hope,' it was asked, 'so great a calamity as this cause ill succeeding be ventured upon at this time?' Finally they declared: 'The project is not fit for this time and the stop in trade which it will cause will be an inestimable evil to the state. Of the cloths at present dyed and dressed in England many are left on the merchants hands, not a quarter are sold.'

It was of little avail for them to protest, for the new scheme had powerful supporters who had the ear of the Council.

It is stated in a contemporary tract, 'Truth brought to light by Time,'¹ that large bribes were distributed among the king's advisers, viz. to Lord Northampton, Lord Rochester, and to the Lord Treasurer, in order to gain their support.

The clothworkers of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk were among the few concerned who protested against the scheme. They alleged that the making of coloured cloths, both in

¹ Printed in the *Somers' Tracts*, vol. ii.

Essex and in other parts, had only been disused because no sale could be found for them abroad or at home.¹

The first blow at the old company was struck by the king's letters patent of December 3, 1613, directed to 'Lord Cooke, Sir Thos. Middleton, Sir Lawrence Tanfield, Sir Stephen Somer, Sir George Coppin, and William Cockain Esq.' It was ordained that 'they who undertake to vent dyed cloth and dressed shall not be restrayned but shall have a free trade to all places where now our clothes are vented white.' A new company of Merchant Adventurers was formed.² Cockayne promised to import foreigners to teach the English the better art of dyeing &c. The city of Stade sent ambassadors, in February 1614, to make overtures to the king and to ask for the appointment of commissioners with whom to arrange for trade 'as well in dyed and finished cloths as others.'³ This was backed by a grant from the Emperor of privileges to the English merchants trading in the Empire to the city of Stade. Cockayne was therefore justified in hoping to have secured a certain market for the products of his new company.

At first the new company attempted to trade side by side with the old; but it met with no success. Already in 1614 complaints against it were brought before the Privy Council. The Low Countries had retaliated by issuing a ban against all English cloths, dressed or undressed. Furthermore a serious practical difficulty arose. The company did not produce a good article. No sale at home could be found for it and the merchants were left with it on their hands. The

¹ See *MS. Eg. 2651*, fol. 24. 'Certayne reasons why the Clothworkers Bill should not passe, objected by the clothiers in Essex.' 'We cannot vent nothing near all our clothes except we may sell them to the Merchant Adventurers, who will by no means buy them unless they may transport them undressed as heretofore. . . . Wherefore we pray that due consideration be had hereof, for yf our clothes lie on our hands unbought we must be driven to make much losse to the great hindrance of the clothiers and the poore of this Country.'

² This new company was not incorporated by charter till 1615.

³ A commission of ten merchants for this purpose was appointed in April 1614, among whom were Sir Thomas Lake, Alderman Cockayne, W. Garraway, W. Harrison, Sir Daniel Dun, &c. *Add. MSS. 14027.*

new company in defence claimed that they had not had sufficient time, and that members of the old company were trying to ruin them. It was also contended that until the craftsmen had learnt the processes of finishing cloths the company must be allowed to support itself by a licence to export 'whites' in limited quantities. The old company, who refused to join them, was dissolved by the king in 1615, and a new charter was issued incorporating Cockayne's company. The conditions under which the patent was granted were, that the new company should transport within three years 36,000 cloths dyed and dressed,¹ and after three years it should endeavour to dye and dress all cloths. In the meanwhile it had leave to transport 30,000 'whites,'² yearly. It inherited all the rights and privileges of the old company, and was further permitted to stretch cloths 'as they doe beyond the seas and to bring into England such stranger workmen as they think fit.'³

In the king's message to the Privy Council (January 14, 1615) he provided that if the company would perform the 6,000 dyed cloths in the first year &c. they should be cherished. If not, then Cockayne should be questioned. If the cause be want of stock, the old company should be enforced to assist for the public good, or if by let abroad, this should by all good means be removed. If to the Council's impartial eye, the work should seem unfeasible they should alter it to the king's best profit. Of the king's immediate advisers Sir E. Coke⁴ was a keen supporter of

¹ Viz. in the first year (June 24, 1615-June 24, 1616), 6,000 cloths; in the second year (June 24, 1616-June 24, 1617) 12,000; in the third year (June 24, 1617-June 1618) 18,000.

² Subject to the payment of 2*s. 8d.* per cloth to the Earl of Cumberland who still maintained the right granted by Elizabeth.

³ For arguments against the incorporation of the new company, see *Cotton MSS. Galba E. 1*, fol. 287. Letter signed Ric. Gore, January 18, 1615.

⁴ Coke had only been admitted to the Privy Council in the autumn of 1613. He was disgraced and suspended from the Council June 1616. The king in his message to Council, January 14, 1615, stated 'that my Lord Cooke held him in conference that the work [*i.e.* the dyeing and dressing of cloths] was very profitable to the state, and feasible as he thought, but in a little time.' See *Cesar Papers, Add. MSS. 14027*, fol. 262 *et seq.*

the plan; Bacon approved the idea but 'had always doubted the ability of the company to carry it thro'; Cranfield was doubtful from the beginning and seriously opposed the granting of the charter. In the meantime the Dutch had set up looms and were determined to ruin English trade.¹ Bacon, on being appealed to by the king, February 25, 1616, wrote his opinion of the new charter: 'I fear this feeding of the foreigner may be dangerous, for as we may think to hold up our clothing by vent of whites till we can dye and dress, so they (I mean the Dutch) will think to hold up their manufacture of dyeing and dressing upon our whites until they can cloth.' The only remedy he could suggest for the daily increasing distress was the enforced sale of cloth instead of silk.² (September 1616.)

In October of the same year Bacon openly joined the throng of opposers and set forth his reasons 'why the new company was not to be trusted nor continued with the trading of cloth'.³

The affairs of the new company went from bad to worse and the cloth trade was completely disorganised. The Dutch would not yield. At about the same time a bankruptcy on a large scale of a Scotchman in Prussia who had in his possession English goods to the value of 80,000*l.*, and another failure for a greater sum, caused a panic among merchants.⁴ Cockayne, among others, was involved in this loss. On January, 19, 1617, the new company gave up their charter and the old company was reinstated.⁵ Though the

¹ See *Lansdowne MSS.* 152, fol. 273, 'Humble Remonstrance of New Company of Merchant Adventurers,' September 11, 1616.

² 'Your Majesty shall supply outward vent with inward use, specially for finer cloths, which are those wherein the stand principally is, and which silk wearers are likest to buy . . . and your Majesty shall blow a horn to let the Flemings know your Majesty will not give over the chase. Again the winter season coming on is fittest for wearing cloth, and there is scope enough left for bravery and vanity by lacing and embroidery,' and so on. Spedding, vol. vi. p. 73.

³ Spedding, vol. vi. p. 73.

⁴ *Carew Papers*, p. 70 (Cam. Soc. Pub. vol. lxxvi.).

⁵ As an example of the minor hindrances in the way of trade, it is instanced among the charges of extortion against Suffolk at his trial in 1619, that he

restoration of the old company silenced the complaints temporarily, it gave no immediate relief to the situation. The injury done to English trade was beyond the remedy of king or ministers. While England had fallen back a pace the Low Countries had taken a stride forward. Had it not been for the fact that the Low Countries were soon again involved in war, England would not perhaps have found herself able to hold her own against them. During the nine years of truce (1609-1618) the Low Countries had outstripped England in the cloth trade, and in the India trade competition was keen. The failure of the scheme by which James had hoped to alter the whole course of the cloth trade to the advantage of England was not only disastrous economically, but also politically, in damaging the prestige of England.

The cloth trade received another serious rebuff in 1622, when a Pragmatic was issued closing the ports of Spain and the Archduchy against English cloths. This was renewed with more stringent orders for its enforcement in February 1623.

The decay in the cloth trade caused widespread distress in the country districts and gave rise to outbreaks and risings. During the years 1622-23 the trade of the country was almost at a standstill.

The condition of trade and the scarcity of money had been the subject of a debate in the Commons in 1620.¹ The dissolution of Parliament followed shortly after and prevented the members from attempting to institute any remedial measures.

In the summer of 1622 a sub-committee of the Privy Council was appointed to inquire into the causes of the deadness of trade. The report² of this committee set out six general causes, viz. 'the making of cloth and other draperies in foreign parts in more abundance than in former

received 3,000*l.* from the Merchant Adventurers to suffer their renewed charter to pass, which could not be despatched before by reason of his (Suffolk's) opposition. See Spedding, vol. vi. p. 37.

¹ See *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 1192.

² See *D. S. P. Jac.* 1, vol. cxxxii., June 22, 1622, and *Stowe MSS.* 554, fol. 46.

times, (the foreigner) being enabled thereto chiefly by wools exported from England and Ireland and Scotland ; the false and deceitful making of cloth at home and the heavy burdens imposed on it whereby it is made so deare to the buyer ; the present state of the times by reason of the warrs of Germany have interrupted the passages (of trade) ; the policy of the Merchant Adventurers who bring upon themselves the suspicion of combination in trading, and the like policies of other merchants who are not willing to extend themselves in this time of extremity to take off the cloth from the hands of the clothiers ; the scarcity of coyne at home and the baseness of forrayne coynes ; the want of means of return for our merchants,¹ and the little wearing of cloth at home.' Remedies on each point were suggested.

This preliminary inquiry was followed by the appointment of a standing committee for trade on October 19, 1622.² The articles of inquiry directed to the commissioners were exceedingly wide, and embraced every branch of trade. Besides dealing with the scarcity of currency, the fisheries &c., and examining into the details of trade regulation, the commissioners were directed to consider the question of trade policy in general. Searching inquiries were ordered to be made both in the country districts and in the towns where distress was rife.

Among the suggestions for remedy made to the commission the most interesting is that of Walter Morrell for the reorganisation of the cloth trade.³ His plan was that a charter should be granted to each county (of the clothing districts) empowering each to make ordinances and regulations

¹ 'Especially of the Eastland Company, which discouraged them to carry out cloth thither because they can neither sell for ready money nor barter for vendible commodities.'

² The appointment of the standing committee was regarded as a sign that no new Parliament would be called for the time being. See *D. S. P. Jac.* 1, vol. clxxxii., November 2, 1622 ; Sir F. Nethersole to Carleton.

³ See *Add. MSS.* 34324, fol. 201, 'A Redy Course propounded for the establishing and certaine settling of the Manufacture of all manner of Draperies to be brought under government for the true and exact making of them,' by Walter Morell.

as time and occasion might require. The Lord-Lieutenant of the county was to be *ex officio* master of the corporation, the deputy-lieutenants to be wardens, and the justices, assistants, of the corporation ; in addition to these a selected number of 'gentlemen yeomen and artizans in any trade of the said county,' chosen by the master, wardens and assistants, were to be associates of the corporation.

The scheme was given a trial in Hertfordshire (for which a charter was granted in 1624), and in Devonshire (in 1626).¹

When Parliament met, in February 1623, it was moved by Coke that 'there was a great want in the value of that which is the life of the kingdom, viz. trade, and the want of vent of native commodities, which brings a great want of money and disvaluation of our native commodities : and that it would be an excellent work for Parliament to remove these impediments.' A select committee was chosen for this business. It was reported that the two charters which were of the greatest hindrance to trade were those of the Merchant Adventurers and the Eastland Companies. The commissioners appointed under the Privy Council had already been inquiring into the affairs of the Merchant Adventurers Company, and the results of their inquiry were reported to the Parliamentary committee.

It was alleged that the Merchant Adventurers Company only numbered 180 members and that in the past year only 35,000 cloths had been exported by them. It was urged that for the encouragement of trade anyone should be free to enter on payment of five marks.² The company was ordered to submit their charters and account books to the examination of the committee. The charters, especially that of 1617, granted in the reaction following the failure of Cockayne's new company, were found to be most prejudicial to all merchants and to trade in general. Under the charter of 1617, it not

¹ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 'Morrel (Hugh).'

² On the other hand it was argued : 'To add more persons to the Merchant Adventurers now would be to put more sheepe into one and the same pasture, which is to serve them all.' See Caesar's Notes, *Add. MSS.* 34324, fol. 195.

only enjoyed an absolute monopoly of the trade, but also an unrestrained right of imposition, and the cloth trade was as heavily burdened by them as by the imposts under the Book of Rates. The condition of the cloth trade under the Merchant Adventurers Company was merely an illustration of the prejudicial effects of monopolies and impositions on the commerce of the realm. It was urged by Sir E. Sandys that their right of pre-emption and export of cloths should be abolished.

In spite of the statute against monopolies passed in 1624, the Merchant Adventurers retained their monopoly, under certain conditions, viz. they were allowed the sole right of exporting cloth on condition that they bought it up and did not leave it in the clothiers' hands, and their right of impositions was taken from them.

IV

In the East India trade the English followed on the heels of the Dutch and the Portuguese. Elizabeth had incorporated the East India Company by charter in 1600. At the time of James's accession it had made its first voyage successfully. The adventurous character of the trade, the magnitude of the gains to be made and of the risks to be incurred, attracted the best blood among the merchant class. The distance and the dangers at this time made the rivalry of interlopers less serious than in other trades or at later times. At first the Dutch and English made common cause against the Portuguese, whom they eventually succeeded in ousting; then with the field to themselves, and while nominally at peace, each did their best to spoil the trade of the other.

The East
India
Trade.

The East India Company had also enemies to deal with at home. These were (*a*) the members of the Levant Company, who complained that they had ruined their trade; (*b*) the general public, who regarded with dislike the export of bullion to the East. By the king the East India Company was regarded with favour.

In 1609, after four voyages had been made, three of which had proved successful, the company applied to the king for a new charter. The king granted them an absolute monopoly of the trade with the East Indies for ever. To commemorate the event, the largest ship yet built was constructed, and was christened by the king, 'The Trades Increase.' So far factories had been established only at Acheen in Sumatra and at Bantam in Java. In the years 1609-1616 the trade rapidly increased. In 1612 an attempt was made to trade with the mainland; in the following year Captain Best obtained the assent of the Great Mogul to articles for permission to trade and establish factories in Surat, Camboya, Ahmedabad, or any other part of his dominions.

In 1615 Sir Thos. Roe was sent out by the company as governor. He went also in the capacity of ambassador from James to the Great Mogul and other native authorities. In the five years of his residence in the East, he succeeded in putting the English trade on a firmer and wider footing. He set himself deliberately to work to make friends with the native authorities, and to oust the Portuguese, against whom in 1616 he declared open war. In this he was assisted by the Dutch. He wrote home in January 1616 that the English are beating the Portuguese back. 'They are beset on every side; the Dutch plant about them and the Persian has banished them.'¹

In July 1615 factories were established both on the west and east coasts of the mainland, as well as in Sumatra, Borneo, Java, and Celebes, and trade was being carried on with Camboya, Pegu, Siam, and Cochin China. This was not accomplished without disagreements and conflict with the Dutch. In the Moluccas the English suffered most severely at their hands, and already in 1611 the Company petitioned Salisbury, the Lord Treasurer, to negotiate with the States on their behalf. This was done, and the States gave the necessary promises; the government was satisfied for the time, but little or no change was made in the position of the English mer-

¹ See *State Papers, Colonial*, vol. i. No. 1087.

chants in the East. Shortly after this, negotiations were opened by the Dutch, who proposed that the English and Dutch should unite together to form one company, with a joint capital of about 12,000,000*l.* The commissioners appointed to arrange a settlement of the whole fishing disputes were empowered to discuss the matter. The commission ended in nothing, and the matter dropped for the time, but was revived by James himself in the next year (1614), but again without result. The leading members of the company, Sir Thos. Roe, Bell and others strongly opposed the plan. It was again brought forward by the Dutch in the weary course of negotiations leading to the unsatisfactory truce of 1619.

A most important result of Roe's administration was the opening of trade with Persia. Negotiations to this end were begun in 1616, and a treaty was signed with the Shah of Persia in 1618, and the trade opened in October 1621, when four of the company's ships arrived at Jask. This extension of trade roused opposition from the Portuguese subjects of Spain already engaged in trade with Persia. James, however, was keenly interested in the trade, and even neglected the complaints of the Spanish Government, as well as the outcry made at home against the exportation of bullion necessary to start the trade.¹ On this point Roe wrote to the king : 'If I find by one year's experience more that this trade may bee made by vent of the commodities of your majesties kingdom etc. without greater exports of money or bullion than Europe is able to bear, considering how many ways it bleedeth to enrich Asia, I will confirm in your name the treaty begun.'

Opposition arose also in other quarters. The Levant trade, still hampered by impositions on their imports, declared that for the East India Company to open trade with Persia was an infringement of their monopoly. They justified their trade as against that of the East India Company by contending that it did not involve an exportation of bullion, but that

¹ See *Carew Papers*, Camden Soc. lxxvi. p. 77. Carew estimated that at least 600,000*l.* would be necessary for this purpose.

they were able to find new markets for English cloth. The question seemed really serious for the Levant Company. They were in 1616 again in difficulties with the Sultan, who had allowed the company's principal factor, Garraway, to be imprisoned there by his Vizier Bassa. They petitioned the king to come to their aid, alleging that 'their trouble ariseth from the robberies etc. committed (as the Turks alledge) by English merchants upon the Grand Signor's subjects in the East,' and so on.¹ In 1617 they complained again that their merchants were so ill-used at Constantinople that they are doubtful 'whether to continue the trade or to relinquish it.'

They saw a further danger of irritating the 'Grand Signor' in the opening of a new channel for the Persian trade.² The East India Company were powerful enough to disregard the complaints of the Levant merchants. The fears of the Levant Company proved to have been exaggerated. In 1619, after Sir Thomas Roe left the service of the East India Company, he entered that of the Levant Company, and resided five years at Constantinople as ambassador. During this time he succeeded in setting the affairs of the company in order and the trade on a better footing.³

The years 1617-22 were a time of stiff struggle for the East India Company. The crisis in trade at home may perhaps have influenced the fortunes of the company. The hostility of the Dutch was their main difficulty. Other lesser matters at home contributed to temporarily hamper them. The king, hard-pressed for money, had granted a licence, in January 1618, to Sir James Cunningham to establish

¹ See *Carew Papers*, Camden Soc. lxxvi. p. 77; *D. S. P. Jac.* 1, vol. xc. 24.

² See *Carew Papers*, Camden Soc. lxxvi. p. 77, Letter iii.; *D. S. P. Jac.* 1, vol. xc. 24. Carew writes: 'Since there is such a madness in England as that we cannot endure home made cloth, but must needs be clothed in silk, itt cannot be gain-sayed but the silkes bought at first hand is the best husbandry.'

³ *Fortescue Papers*, No. cli. Camden Soc. N.S. 1. Sir Thos. Roe to Duke of Buckingham: 'I have sett in order all their [i.e. the Levant Company's] affaires and revived their trade in such sort that I hope it shall bee both beneficial to the kingdom and to them, and an advance of his Majesty's customs. I have settled the peace with Barbary if it be not shaken again by want of small liberalities to maintain it.'

a Scottish East India Company. This was in direct contravention of the charter held by the company, and was stoutly resisted by them. The king acceded to their demands, and declared himself willing to annul the licence, but the company had to pay heavily for the concession, by way of indemnity to the Scottish Company.¹ The final revocation of the Scottish patent was offered as an inducement and reward to the company in the affair of the Muscovy loan. The Emperor of Russia in 1618 sent ambassadors to James, asking for a loan of 100,000 marks for his wars in Poland. James suggested that the Muscovy Company should produce the money. As they were not sufficiently wealthy to bear the whole burden of the loan, they solicited the co-operation of the East India Company. This was arranged, and the two companies further agreed to carry on a joint trade on an equal stock of adventure for eight years.²

Meanwhile open hostilities had broken out between the Dutch and English traders in the Spice Islands. In September 1618 a list of complaints against the Dutch were drawn up by the company and presented to the king. A joint commission of inquiry of Dutch and English was appointed, and after seven months of discussion a settlement very much to the disadvantage of the English was drawn up, mainly through the instrumentality of the king. A treaty for twenty years was signed July 16, 1619, of which Carleton, English Ambassador to the States, wrote: 'It is in effect but a prorogation of the treaty to a longer and more fitter time.' It was arranged that the two companies (Dutch and English) should share the monopoly of the spice trade, to the English one-third part being assigned, and to the Dutch two-thirds; each company should contribute ten ships for the defence of the trade; a Council of Defence composed of members of each company was to be established; the English company was

¹ See *S. P. Col.* 1618. 'The East India Company thought that the Levant Company ought to contribute to the great charge of calling in the Scotch patent.'

² *Ibid.* March 27, 1618. Each company was to supply 30,000*l.* yearly. It was hoped to gain additional trading privileges, both in Muscovy and for trade routes to Persia.

not to erect forts for its own defence, but to contribute towards the maintenance of those already established by the Dutch. Great dissatisfaction was felt by the English merchants. The treaty was hardly signed at home before hostilities broke out anew in the East. Matters indeed went so badly for the English that the dissolution of the company was talked of.¹ In the autumn of 1621 another joint commission was appointed. The Dutch were anxious to treat with the king alone, seeing that the treaty of 1619 had been brought about through his influence. To this the English company were strongly opposed. A second treaty was signed in February 1623, but no settlement was reached on the important question of regulation of the trade. It was the general opinion of the time that the king was moved by considerations of foreign policy in his desire to patch up a treaty with the Dutch. James's negotiations with Spain were breaking down, and the Dutch were again fighting Spain in the Netherlands.

Matters went from bad to worse in the East; not only were the English being driven out of the spice trade, but their trade with the mainland at Surat was threatened by the Dutch. In May 1624 the news arrived of the massacre of the English merchants at Amboyna² in the Moluccas. In the following June James concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Dutch. When the English merchants appealed to the king for redress, they found little hope of obtaining even justice. The treaty with James had strengthened the hands of the Dutch. They knew that James would not come to an open breach with the States, and they hoped by temporising to force the English merchants out of the trade. The English company had no choice and a new commission was appointed.

¹ See *Hist. MSS. Com.* Appendix to the Third Report, p. 64 (6). Four papers, 1620, 'Informations and observations that the East India Company are resolved to have and divide the trade.' The trade is declared to be carried on at a loss to the adventurers. The writer attributed this largely to internal dissensions in the company; also to a want of protection on the part of the king of their privileges.

² The massacre occurred on February 11, 1624.

The English merchants threatened to give up the trade. The king declared himself willing to help, but did nothing. The merchants pressed him to seize the Dutch ships in the narrow seas until redress was given. This James delayed to do, in spite of his promises.¹ He offered to become himself an adventurer in the company and to have its ships sail under the royal flag; but to this the company would not consent.² Besides redress for the damage sustained, they desired complete separation from the Dutch.

In October 1624 they submitted three propositions to the king. They declared themselves willing to give up the trade with the Moluccas, and to remove their agents 'from Jacatra (*i.e.* Batavia) and all other places where they have lived under the laws and cruel commands of the Dutch,' on condition (1) that they should be allowed to withdraw quietly and without molestation, (2) that all disputes in future between Dutch and English should be decided by the Council of Defence, appeal from their decision being allowed to the king and the States, and (3) that they should be allowed to erect forts in defence of their factories in other parts and be treated by the Dutch as allies. These propositions with some reservations were agreed to by the States in December 1624. The English company obtained no redress for the damage received at Amboyna. Desultory attempts were made in the following reign to obtain it, but it was not until 1654 that the Dutch granted it.³

V

While in the East Indies commerce was established Plantations. during the reign without any previous attempt to obtain

¹ The warrant was signed by Buckingham, October 1624.

² See *S. P. Col.* vol. 1622-24, No. 527. They answered to the king's request that 'they cannot conceive how with his honour it may be done. The condition of partnership in trade being beneath the dignity of a king.' Prince Charles had been allowed to adventure 6,000*l.* in 1619.

³ See *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 592. Sept. 18, 1654. The Dutch granted 3,615*l.* 'for the busines of Amboyna.'

territorial dominion, in the West the plantation of colonies to open up the resources of the land necessarily preceded the establishment of commerce. Companies of adventurers were formed for this purpose, incorporated under royal charter. The crown, as a rule, neither took the initiative in these enterprises, nor shared in the burden of risk and expense.

Attempts were made to obtain foothold in Guiana. In 1609 Harcourt made a voyage thither and took possession of the land for King James, who in 1610 granted a patent to Harcourt and his associates for the discovery and plantation of the territory between the River Amazon and River Dollesquebe (Essequibo). This patent was renewed in 1613. The scheme was regarded with extreme disfavour by Spain. The active hostility of the Spanish colonists was aroused by Raleigh's unfortunate expedition of 1617. A new patent was granted to Roger North in 1619, but was subsequently revoked at the instance of Gondomar. It was not until 1627 that Harcourt and North with a patent from Charles I. at last established an English colony there.

The English settlement of Newfoundland dates also from this reign. Newfoundland had been formally taken for Elizabeth by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583. In 1608 a scheme for its plantation was brought forward by Popham, and taken up by Guy and other Bristol adventurers. A patent was granted in 1610 to the Earl of Northampton, Guy and many others, merchants of Bristol and London, incorporating them as a company for the plantation of the S. and E. portion of the island, between 46° and 52° N. lat. In the summer of the same year, a colony, under the leadership of Guy, was established. The fisheries being already resorted to by West of England fishermen, as well as by foreigners, the exclusive right of fishing was withheld in spite of the petitions of the planters.

The most important colonial enterprise of the reign was that of Virginia. Several attempts had been made under Elizabeth for the settlement of this territory (notably that of Sir W. Raleigh), but without success.

A new scheme for the plantation of Virginia was brought forward in 1605 by Popham, the Earl of Southampton, Hakluyt, and others, who, besides laying stress on the possible wealth to be obtained, urged that the plantation would offer an outflow for some of the turbulent and indigent population of the country. A patent was granted in 1606. One of the chief causes of failure in the Elizabethan attempts to colonise had been the want of adequate machinery for the control of the colonists. The patent of 1606, therefore, contained an elaborate scheme of government. The Crown reserved for itself a royalty of one-fifth of the proceeds of any discoveries of gold and silver mines. The territory granted in the patent was divided between two companies—a West of England company, who were to make a settlement in the tract of land lying between 38° and 45° lat. N., and a London company, who were to plant their colony in the land between 34° and 41° lat. N. The two companies were to plant their settlements at least 100 miles apart from each other.

The northern settlement failed completely at first. The tract of land, later known as New England, was afterwards settled by the Pilgrim Fathers. The southern colony (that of the London company) survived in spite of enormous difficulties. The machinery of government established under the first patent having proved unmanageable and unsuited to the needs of a young colony, a new patent was issued in 1609, in which considerable reforms were introduced.

The king provided, for the encouragement of the colony, that all commodities shipped for the use of the colonists in Virginia¹ should be freed from custom and all other duties; the monopoly of the colony's trade was granted to the company, and for twenty-one years all goods exported from the colony were to be exempted from all duties beyond a 5 per cent. custom duty.

¹ See *S. P., Foreign*; Order of Salisbury to Customs officers, May 3, 1609.

In 1612 an offshoot of the Virginian company established a settlement in the Bermudas or Somers Island. These were granted an independent patent of incorporation in 1614, and they were empowered to raise funds for their enterprise by means of lotteries, a right which evoked a remonstrance from Parliament in 1614. By the year 1616 the colony in Virginia was established and in a fairly prosperous condition. The initial difficulties of planting the colony were surmounted, and definite attempts were made to plant and foster industries and establish trade. The staple product of the colony was tobacco. The production of this on a large scale was regarded with disfavour both by the London council of the company and by the king. Tobacco being merely an article of luxury, the use of which, though spreading rapidly, was not yet general, it was considered both risky and impolitic that its cultivation should become the staple industry of the new plantation; moreover, it was found necessary in the interests of the settlers themselves to restrict the growth of tobacco. The colonists, finding it their only easy source of gain, were inclined to cultivate it at the expense of corn and other crops. Sir Thos. Dale, whilst governor of the colony, introduced strict regulations to prevent this evil. He provided 'that no farmer or other, who must maintayne themselves, shall plant any tobacco unless he shall yearly manure, set, and maintayne for himself and every manservant two acres of ground with corne, which doing they may plant as much tobacco as they will.'¹ After Dale's departure, these provisions for securing an adequate corn supply were not observed, and the colony in 1618 was reduced to a condition bordering on starvation.

 The king, besides harbouring a personal dislike of tobacco, had other reasons for disapproving of the importation of tobacco from Virginia and Somers Island. The tobacco trade had formerly been entirely in the hands of the Spanish colonies. The Spaniards had from

¹ See Rolfe, *Relation of Virg'nia*, Purchas, 1617.

the beginning regarded with hostility the establishment of English plantations in America; the development of the Virginian tobacco trade was regarded as a further encroachment on their rights. James, always anxious to keep on friendly terms with Spain, was more than ever ready to pander to Spain, pending the negotiations for the marriage of Charles and the Infanta. James had also another reason for favouring Spanish tobacco in preference to the other, viz., that the Spanish tobacco yielded him better custom revenues. In James's gradual change of attitude towards the plantations, as illustrated in his dealings with the tobacco trade, may be traced the forms of the policy developed more definitely later, of subordinating the interests of the colony to those of the mother country.

The interests of the colony suffered at the king's hands in two ways. The company was directed in 1619 to provide for the transportation of a hundred convicts. The king's order was peremptory, and in spite of remonstrance the company was forced to comply, and the chief share of the expenses of transportation had to be defrayed from the general purse.

The difficulties in the tobacco trade began in the same year. In contravention of the patent of 1609 the custom officers demanded a duty of 1*s.* per lb. on Virginian tobacco. This was nominally the same as that paid on Spanish tobacco, but whereas Spanish tobacco was worth 18*s.* to 20*s.* per lb., the current price of Virginian tobacco was 3*s.* The company appealed to the Privy Council, who decided the case in their favour. In 1620, however, the king rescinded the Council's decision, and re-imposed the duty of 1*s.* The company was forced to submit, the only result of their petition to the king being a promise to prohibit the growth of tobacco in England for five years. In the following year, 1621, the king made another move, still more favourable to the Spanish tobacco trade. A proclamation was issued limiting the importation of tobacco from Virginia and the Somers Islands to 55,000 lbs. The monopoly of the

Virginian tobacco trade was at the same time granted to Sir Thos. Roe ; in the following year it was transferred to other patentees. The company was forced to sell all their tobacco to the patentees, who demanded an additional impost of 4*d.* per pound for garbling.¹ In the mean time the fortunes of the Virginian company were impaired by other disasters and difficulties. The colony was attacked by the natives in 1622, and a great massacre took place, and villages, houses, and crops were destroyed. Quarrels had also arisen within the council of the company, which was divided up into factions.² In 1619 Sir Thos. Smith, who had been appointed treasurer of the company by the king, and who had held the post for twelve years, was not re-elected, but Sir Edwin Sandys, an ardent opponent of the Crown in the House of Commons, was chosen in his place. This appointment was regarded with great disfavour by the king. Henceforth a political element was introduced into the relations of the king to the company. Within the company party feeling ran high. The king refused to relax the restrictions imposed on the colonial tobacco trade, and the company addressed a petition on the subject to Parliament. The Commons took up their cause, and the tobacco question was embodied in their list of grievances.

As no redress, however, could be obtained, it was arranged that the whole import of 55,000 lbs. should be allowed to the Somers Islands (as that colony was entirely dependent on their tobacco trade), while the Virginian colonists arranged to export their tobacco in increased quantities to Holland. The Privy Council would not agree to this arrangement ; and in the following year a proclamation was issued prohibiting

¹ See Cowell's *Interpreter*. 'Garbling of spice is nothing but to purifie it from the dross and dust that is mixed with it.' In 1620 a commission was appointed who were to draw up orders for the garbling of tobacco before it was exposed to sale. See Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. xvii. p. 190.

² See E. D. Neill, *History of the Virginian Company of London*, p. 413. Letter, Chamberlain to Carleton, July 26, 1624. 'The factions in these two companies (the Bermudas and Virginia Companies) are grown so violent, as Guelphs and Ghibellines were not more animated against one another . . .' &c.

the export of any commodity from the colony except to England and in English bottoms. This prohibition was renewed in 1623. This measure marks the beginning of the policy, afterwards developed by the Crown towards the colonies, of making the trade interests of the colonies entirely subordinate to those of the mother country.

Towards the close of the year 1622, a new scheme for the settlement of the tobacco trade was brought forward by the Lord Treasurer Middlesex. A contract was made, by which the monopoly of the tobacco trade was granted to the Companies of Virginia and Somers Islands free of all charges except the original 5 per cent. duty, on condition that one-third of the proceeds of the trade should be paid to the king and a minimum of 40,000 lb. of Spanish tobacco imported. This scheme was merely one of the many expedients devised by the Lord Treasurer to supplement the king's revenue. The company found themselves forced to accept it. The execution of the contract gave rise, however, to great disputes and dissensions within the companies, and little profit accrued to the royal revenue. The contract was annulled in the following year (1623).

About the same time the Court party within the Virginia company petitioned the king for its dissolution. A commission was appointed by the Privy Council to inquire into the state of the colony. Their report was unfavourable. It was in vain for the company to plead that the colony was still suffering from the massacre of the previous year. It was decided that the government of the colonies should be taken over by the Crown. The charters of both companies were annulled in 1624. The government of the colonies was put into the hands of a commission of twelve appointed by the king, who took into his own hands the monopoly of the tobacco trade.

VI

Agri-
culture.

A most important feature of the Tudor policy had been the encouragement of tillage.¹ Herein James followed in his predecessors' footsteps. The Elizabethan statutes were re-enacted, but few or no innovations were introduced.

The enclosing of land for sheep-farming which had taken place during the sixteenth century had not only greatly decreased the area of arable land, but had also considerably impoverished many of the rural districts. The attention of the king and Privy Council were directed to the matter by the outbreak of riots, chiefly in Northamptonshire, in May 1607, against enclosures and encroachments on common lands. The riots were soon suppressed; and a commission was appointed to inquire into the extent of enclosures.² The articles of inquiry were drawn up on much the same lines as those of the commission of 1517.³ The commissioners were directed to inquire (by the oath of twelve lawful men of the county) to what extent enclosure had taken place since the twentieth year of Elizabeth, and to what extent depopulation had resulted therefrom. They were also to find out 'how many still occupy the land and sett poor men and others in their dwelling houses, or leave them wide.'

The reports of the commissioners⁴ of the five midland counties are preserved, viz.: of Bedford, Warwick, Leicester, Northampton, and Buckinghamshire. These reports show that enclosure of land for sheep farming had practically ceased. Large areas of land, however, lay idle, and many

¹ See Bacon, *Hist. of Henry VII.* p. 93. 'The king (by encouraging tillage) did secretly sow Hydras' teeth, whereupon rise up armed men for the service of the kingdom.'

² See Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce: Mod. Times*, pp. 52, 53, footnotes.

³ Leadam, *Domesday of Enclosures*.

⁴ See P. R. O. *Depopulation Reports*, 5 Jac. I. I am indebted to Mr. Hall for having most kindly drawn my attention to the reports of this commission. Cases of enclosure within five or six years of the date of the inquiry are rare; the majority occur before 1595. The reports for the county of Northampton are of much greater length than those of the other counties.

villages were depopulated as a result of enclosure in the past.

In order to keep up a fair level of prices, and so encourage the farmer, a proclamation was issued in the first year of the reign, permitting the exportation of corn in English ships when the price of wheat did not exceed 26s. 8d. per quarter, the price of rye 15s. per quarter, and barley 14s. per quarter. This proclamation was renewed at the end of the reign, after a general rise in prices had taken place, and the limit was raised for wheat to 32s. per quarter, for rye to 20s. per quarter, and for barley to 16s. per quarter.

The reign was remarkable for the frequency of bad seasons. Dearth prevailed in the country districts, owing to the failure of the crops, in the years 1607-9, 1614, and 1621-2.

The large quantities of corn imported at these times was regarded as one of the causes of the increasing scarcity of money. As a remedy for this it was advised that the example of the Low Countries and the Empire should be followed, and that national stores of grain should be kept to provide for years of dearth. 'Amsterdam,' it was stated, 'is never without 700,000 quarters of corne, . . . and none of this groweth in their own country. A dearth in England, France, Spain, Italy is truly observed to enrich Holland seven years after. For example, the last dearth, six years past (*i.e.* that of 1614) the Hamburgers, Embdeners, and Hollanders out of their store houses furnished this kingdom; and from Southampton, Exeter, and Bristowe in a year and a half carried away near 200,000*l.* from these three ports only.'¹ In accordance with this suggestion a proclamation was issued ordering the establishment of public magazines for corn. Commissioners were

¹ See *Diary of William Yonge* (Camden Soc. vol. lxi.), and Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*. Great local variations of prices occurred. It is difficult to estimate the dearth of corn by the price, as a general rise in prices took place in the course of the reign; while in time of actual scarcity of money the phenomenon of dearth of corn and low prices was observed. See Sir R. Maddison, 'Note concerning the helpes of trade,' July 2, 1623, *Add. MSS. 2434*.

² See Keymer, *Book of Observations touching Trade and Traffique beyond the Seas*, 1620. *Lansdowne MSS.*, 162.

appointed and empowered to purchase corn and deposit it therein, when the price of wheat fell below 32s. per quarter, of rye below 18s. per quarter, and of barley below 16s. per quarter.

An important undertaking begun during the reign, and one in which the crown took an active part, was the reclaiming of waste fen lands. A series of destructive floods in 1607 broke through the embankments protecting the low lands of the eastern counties, and many farms and villages were swamped. A commission appointed to inquire into the extent of waste lands reported that 317,242 acres in the fen district were waste. Various attempts to drain these lands were made. The most notable of these was that made, at the instigation of the king, by Lord Chief Justice Popham. He had adventured considerable sums himself in the undertaking, and organised a company of London merchants and others to share the rest of the burden of expense. The adventurers were to receive as a reward for their work, if successful, two-thirds of the land reclaimed. The attempt, however, failed, and the adventurers lost heavily. In 1621 the king invited Vermuyden, the Dutch engineer, to come over and undertake the draining of Windsor Park. Afterwards the draining of Hathfield Chase was entrusted to him. This work, which was later financed by the Duke of Bedford, was not completed until the following reign.

VII

Currency. In treating of the economic conditions of the reign of James I. and of the relations of the Crown to trade and the effects of the Crown policy, it is necessary to direct attention to the state of the currency during the period. The first quarter of the seventeenth century was a period of currency difficulty in all countries of Western Europe, and in England it was one of almost chronic scarcity. The scarcity was noticeable from the beginning of the period; it became serious in 1611-12, and the currency crisis reached its

height in 1622-3. There were special causes which made the period one of currency scarcity in England; chief among these were the decay of export trade of cloth and failure in the harvests. Besides these it is necessary to take into account some of the broad general causes affecting the state of the currency in England and other Western European countries alike. A review of these will show that, though perhaps James may be held responsible in part for the severity of the currency and trade crisis which took place in England, owing to his ill-timed attempt to alter the course of the cloth trade, his tamperings with the currency itself, and his general disregard of national trade interests in his foreign policy, yet there were other causes beyond his control which made currency difficulty inevitable.

These causes were the increase in the supply of the precious metals from America and the unevenness in its distribution. After the discovery and exploitation of the Potosi silver mines, the annual increase in the stock of silver was enormous. But it is estimated by Soetbeer¹ that the full effect of this increase was not felt until the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It is for this reason that the period is one of universal monetary confusion. The difficulties in the way of even distribution enhanced the confusion, and everywhere violent oscillations occurred in the ratios of value of gold to silver. The average ratios for Western Europe have been calculated as follows by Soetbeer :

1581-1600	...	...	...	I : 12
1601-1620	...	...	...	I : 12.5
1620-1640	...	...	...	I : 14

While the average of the middle period (1601-1620) was not much above that of the preceding period (1581-1600), the limits of the variations were much wider. After 1625, the ratio rose suddenly and rapidly everywhere; for by this time the increased supply of silver was fairly evenly distributed.

¹ See Soetbeer, *Edelmetallproduktion in Werthverhältniss zwischen Gold und Silber seit der Entdeckung Amerikas bis der Gegenwart*. Gotha, 1874.

The years 1620-1624 saw grave currency crises both in England and Germany. Many reasons contributed to impede the distribution of the precious metals. Not only were there great difficulties and dangers in the way of its transport, but these were increased, and ordinary trade intercommunication hampered, by the wars of the period. Moreover, the inflow of the precious metals from America caused the rapid decline in the supply from other quarters. This meant that the channels through which gold and silver flowed into Western Europe were changed. All American metal (except that which fell into the hands of English or other privateers) had to pass through Spain. This point is important in its effect on the distribution of the metals. For though there could be no comparison between the outputs of American and European silver mines, the freedom and natural course of its distribution was very much more hampered in the former case. For Spain was not a great commercial nation. Her wealth consisted chiefly in her American gold and silver. This, according to the prevailing idea of the time, she would have kept within the country as far as possible. It was drafted away in payment of the emperor's debts &c., and used in the service of his wars rather than distributed in the ordinary course of trade.

The complaint that was frequently made, and to which, by some, the scarcity prevalent in England and elsewhere in the early seventeenth century is partly attributed, viz. 'we no longer have silver from High Germany as we used,' has thus some basis. The silver, instead of passing almost immediately into circulation as formerly, when the chief silver mines were in the hands of the Augsburg merchants, was restricted in its outflow, and its distribution was unequal. This inequality was increased also by conscious interference with the exchanges, though the extent to which this was attempted was much exaggerated in contemporary writings. The interference was of two kinds: (a) deliberate attempts on the part of governments or trading communities to keep the exchanges at a certain level; (b) the handling of the exchanges for

private gain. To what extent the latter actually existed it is difficult to determine, but it is easy to see that the monetary confusion prevailing everywhere gave the opportunity for handling the exchanges to any one astute enough to do so.

The failure of the great Antwerp and Augsburg financial houses, the Fuggers &c., at the close of the sixteenth century, following on the repeated bankruptcies of the Spanish and French Crowns, threw the monetary world into confusion, and considerably enhanced the difficulties in the way of even distribution.

In spite of the fact that Europe was neither adequately nor evenly supplied with the precious metals, the outflow of silver to the East had already begun. This is a fertile source of complaint among the English tract writers, and though their attacks on the East India Company in this connection are not untinged with jealousy, the grievance, at a time when an actual insufficiency of currency existed at home, was perhaps a real one.

There were also many practical difficulties in the way of even distribution. No country could boast of a satisfactory currency.

The process of minting was slow¹ and uncertain in its results. The coins issued were frequently inaccurate and light-weight. The currency was open in all countries to the dangers of debasement. It was a period of needy princes, and there were few, if any, who could withstand the temptation of tampering with currency.

In England throughout the reign of James I. the state of the currency was a cause of grave anxiety both to merchants and statesmen. Not only was the currency itself in an unsatisfactory condition, but there was a continual drain of bullion to the Continent. Contemporary opinion was divided as to the cause of this. By some the drain of specie was attributed to the over-valuation of silver in terms of gold, by

¹ Ruding, vol. i. p. 372, 1617. 'By the death of Sir R. Martin, Master of the Mint, a stop was put on the working of the Mint, and those who brought bullion could not have it made into money.'

others to the 'unfavourable balance of trade.' It is probable that there was some truth in both opinions.

Elizabeth at the close of her reign had made an attempt to restore the currency, and a new coinage was issued in 1601. The benefit of this measure, sound in itself, was marred by the fact that the ratio of gold to silver, at which the coins were issued, was lowered instead of raised.¹ This error James attempted to remedy in his re-issues of 1604 and 1605. The difficulty of adjusting the ratio in accordance with the ever-changing variations on the Continent was very great. In spite of the great oscillations of ratio which took place, there was a general tendency to rise, as the distribution of the precious metals gradually took place. The relief effected by the measures of 1604 and 1605 was only temporary. The drain continued, and became more rapid as the confusion in the cloth trade increased. The falling-off in the export trade of cloth, &c., was undoubtedly one of the causes of the drain of bullion, while the monetary scarcity which resulted served to enhance the severity of the industrial crisis.

Attempts were made to check the drain by means of proclamations forbidding the export of bullion under penalty. These proved futile. In 1609 the drain was already so serious as to lead to the appointment of a commission of inquiry. The report of the commissioners declared the causes of the drain of bullion and the consequent scarcity to be : (a) that the ratio between gold and silver was not the same as in other countries ; (b) the abuse of the exchange. The former would not be sufficient in itself to produce the evil 'if there were betwixt the countries due course holden in exchange of money ; but that is not so.' The remedy proposed was therefore the reform of the abuse of exchange. The business of banking and exchange was in the hands of the Goldsmiths' Company, who were charged with working the exchanges to their own profit, and it was proposed to revive the office of Royal Exchanger. The goldsmiths

¹ See Shaw, *Hist. of Currency*, p. 152.

petitioned against this, and the proposal was abandoned for the time being. That great want of uniformity in the rates of exchange existed is evident from the contemporary complaints made. It was alleged that the goldsmiths and other merchants gave a higher rate for silver than the Mint price. The East India Company proposed in their own interest that 'all merchants and goldsmiths be prohibited from giving a higher price than the king for silver, except the East India Company.'¹

In 1611 the Crown was led to tamper with the currency under pressure of revenue difficulties, though the alleged reason was to remedy the monetary scarcity. The nominal values of the coins, gold and silver, were raised 10 per cent. This was followed in 1612 by a debasement of the standard of the coinage. This measure was opposed by Sir Robert Cotton, who advised an attempt to diminish the imports and increase the exports.

Sir Richard Martin, Master of the Mint, gave his opinion in favour of debasement. 'There are,' he wrote, 'only three meanes of setting his majestie's mint at work :

'(1) The limitation of merchants in bringing over foreign commodities.

'(2) By crying up the moneys to a higher value.

'(3) By imbasing the moneys.'²

The first he declared to be the only true means, but 'inasmuch as it will aske longer time for the settling thereof, which the present necessitie will not afford,' another means must be sought. The crying up of moneys to a higher value

¹ See *D. S. P.*, Jac. I, vol. lxix. 8.

² He goes on : 'For yf the shillinge should be raysed to thirteene or fourteene pence, the merchant and vittler would presently rayse their commodities accordynglie, and soe landlords, officers and labourers lyving upon their former rents, fees and labours, receaving noe more than they were wont, shall pay more for their maintenance than heretofore, by one sixth the part, soe that in tyme it would come to passe that landlords in whom onlie there may be a power to relieve themselves, their leases being expired, would raise their rents accordinglie, only those that have great store of money should be gayners by this course.' The tract is signed 'Sir Ric. Martin, Kt. master of the Mint, excellently experienced in money business.' See *Add. MSS.* 34324, fol. 64.

he proved to be useless. It might stop exportation, but would not conduce to importation of bullion. 'Soe that the first course beinge not presently to be put into execution, and the second not convenient, yt remayneth that if any alteration be made yt must be by meanes of the last, namelye, by imbasing the moneys, with such moderation as may save the present necessitie and yett bringe noe discredit on the moneys.'

Debasement of the coinage was decided upon, and the pound troy of gold (22 carat) was coined into 40*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*¹ Meanwhile, however, the actual scarcity of money was so great that there was insufficient to carry on ordinary business; leaden tokens, issued by private merchants, were in circulation. The use of these was prohibited in 1613, and a patent granted to Lord Harrington for the issue of copper farthings to take their place.

The needs of the king's purse became more pressing as the scarcity increased, and the proclamations against the excessive use of the precious metals for plate, and gold and silver thread, as well as those against the exportation of bullion, were more stringently enforced in the king's interest. In 1617 James took into his own hands the monopoly of making gold and silver thread. In 1618 offenders against the proclamation forbidding exportation of bullion were tried before the Star Chamber. In that year James took advantage of the unpopularity of the Dutch merchants, and eighteen of the wealthiest were accused before the Court of Star Chamber of exporting bullion, and fined large sums. The fines were so large (ranging from 2,000*l.* to 20,000*l.*) that the States interceded on behalf of the merchants. The Solicitor-General alleged that 7,000,000*l.* had been exported, and though this was shown to be impossible by Sir Noel de Caron, the fines, amounting to 132,000*l.* were imposed. These were reduced, owing to the inability of many of the offenders to pay the required sums. Eventually 34,000*l.* worth of

¹ See Ruding, vol. i. p. 367.

silver was paid into the Mint to be recoined,¹ and the king cancelled a loan of 20,000*l.* borrowed previously from the Dutch merchants.

In 1619 a meeting of the Privy Council was held to discover some remedy for the scarcity, and merchants of the East India, Turkey, French, Spanish, and East Land and other companies were invited to give their opinions. The suggestion of appointing a Royal Exchanger was again brought forward, and again petitioned against by the Goldsmiths' Company, who suggested as the best remedial measure to be to increase the denominational value of the coins. This advice was followed, and the coinage of 1619 issued, and the standard of the coins was again lowered.² This was the last change in the coinage made during the reign. In 1620 the condition of the cloth trade and the scarcity of money attracted the notice of Parliament, and a debate on the subject took place. Dissolution, however, took place before any active measures of remedy could be initiated.

The most important step taken was the appointment of the commission of the Privy Council, for inquiry into the decay of trade and scarcity of money already mentioned in Section III. The king also attempted to find a solution of the currency difficulty and directed various persons, merchants and others, to submit to him in writing their opinions on the subject; among these were Mandeville, then President of the Council, Mun, Maddison and others. Sir Hen. Mandeville was first appealed to. His views flavoured strongly of Malyne's. He attributed the evil to the abuse of the exchanges, and advised 'a restraint on the price of foreign wares, which have risen in price two thirds, liberty of free trade, the execution of the Statute of Strangers'

¹ See Introd. to Huguenot Soc. *Proceedings*, vol. i. Moens, and *Add. MSS.* 34324, fol. 109.

² 1619. 'The gold angel was reduced in weight from 71 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains to 64 $\frac{1}{2}$, a reduction equivalent to an increase of $\frac{1}{11}$ in denominational value (Shaw, p. 139). The lb. troy was cut into 66 shillings.'

Employments, and there will be noe doubt but that the native commodities of your kingdom and the industry of your people will dayly be improved, and the outward trade of your merchants be restored again to the former riche and flourishing estate and so on.¹ The king was not satisfied with this report and directed that it should be laid before certain notable merchants. The 'Humble Report'² drawn up by them ten days later was a refutation of Mandeville's pamphlet, and embodied sounder views on the theory of the exchanges and the balance of trade. Mun's hand is traceable in its composition ; and it contains views expounded later both by him and Misselden.³

It was demonstrated that the loss on the exchange was not so great as had been declared ;⁴ and while conceding that some relief might be found in arranging a treaty with other countries 'for a just correspondence to be houlden between this Realm and those parts in the valewe of Coynes' it was argued, that as long as 'we spend in this kingdom a greater value of forrain commodities than forrain parts doe of ours, so long must there of necessity be exported

¹ See Add. MSS. 32434, *Cesar Papers*, fol. 152, dated May 1, 1622.

² Mr. Bell (of the East India Company), Thos. Mons (*i.e.* Mun), Mr. Thos. Jennings (an adventurer in East India Company), Mr. Wood ye Goldsmith, Mr. Skinner (of the East India Company), Mr. Keneidee (he signs himself Kendrick in the *Humble Report*). See Add. MSS. 32434, fol. 155.

* The Preface of Misselden's *Free Trade* is dated June 8, 1622 ; the *Circle of Commerce* was not written till after the appointment of the Commission. Mun's Tract in defence of the East India trade had appeared 1621.

⁴ See Add. MSS. 34324, fol. 155. Mandeville calculated the loss in the exchange with the Low Countries to amount to 3*s. 2d.* on the 1*l.* sterling. Mun and the rest prove it to be only 2*1/2d.* on the 1*l.*

The *Report* goes on : 'This is so necessarie true as that noe lawe, no treaty, no losse to the merchant, nor par upon the exchange, nor danger to the exporter can prevent it, but if it be mett with all in one part yett it must out in another . . . But if this wast of forraine wares be kept within compasse of our commodities vented in forraine parts, then though the neighbouring states enhance the Coyne, though the exchange goe free at the pleasure of the merchants contracting it, though the lawes against exportation and Strangers ymployment slepe, and all men be suffered to carry moneye wherever he will, yet this overballance of our commodities will force it again with an increase by a necessitie of nature beyond all resistance ; other remedye than this we conceive none to be effectual.' (Add. MSS. 34324, fol. 167.)

as much of our moneys as will ballance and level that difference.' This tract was answered by another,¹ and a small pamphlet war followed; the controversy was carried on afterwards at the table of the Commission of Trade.²

No attempt was made to remedy the scarcity of money by introducing any currency reform.

The crisis in trade and currency was gradually abating when the reign closed.

VIII

As we have seen, the years 1622-23 were marked by failure and mishap for England on many sides. The actual scarcity of currency was so great as to hinder the conduct of ordinary every-day business. The distress in the clothing districts led to risings and outbreaks.³ Failure of the harvest in these years in many parts of England made matters worse, and relief more difficult. The cloth trade received another serious rebuff in the Pragmatic Sanction issued against English cloths towards the close of 1622, and again, with more strict orders for enforcement, in February 1623. In the East Indies the heat of the struggle between the English and the Dutch, in defiance of home governments, was daily becoming more intense, reaching a climax in the massacre at Amboyna in 1623. James's foreign policy was complicating matters, his friendly negotiations with Spain were not only increasing the discontent at home, but lowering the prestige of England abroad, and especially in the eyes of the Dutch. The

¹ Unsigned, but probably written with the help of Malyne, whose writings it resembles closely both in language and matter.

² The writers, besides Mandeville and Mun, were Malyne, Sir Ralph and Sir Ric. Maddison. Nine of these tracts are preserved, together with notes in Caesar's hands of the debates on the scarcity at a few of the meetings of the Council (or Commission?) in the *Cæsar Papers*, Add. M.S. 34324. Mun and Sir Ralph Maddison were among the original members of the Commission. Misselden was not of the number, he was carrying on the controversy with Malyne in the outside world. His *Circle of Commerce* was published shortly after the appointment of the Commission.

³ See *Diary of William Yonge*, Camden Soc. Pub. vol. xli.

intensity of the distress made action on the part of the Government necessary.

When Parliament met, in 1623, its attention was directed to the condition of trade, and a committee was appointed to inquire into and report on the subject. The chief causes of decay of trade were reported to be monopolies and impositions. 'If these burdens continue,' it was alleged, 'they will tend to the utter destruction of the Kingdom.'¹

In dealing with them, the committee urged that care should be taken not to grieve the king with questions of right or diminution of revenue. As a result of this the Statute against Monopolies was drafted and passed in May 1624. It was no doubt the critical condition of trade and industry that induced the king to give his consent to this Act. By it the determination of the validity of all patents of monopolies was put into the hands of the common law judges. Certain of the principal monopolists, viz. the great companies, were exempted from the Act. For political reasons the removal of impositions was not brought forward by Parliament.

The committee of the Privy Council, which continued to sit until the end of the reign, achieved little beyond a more active administration of the poor law, to alleviate the distress in the country districts, and suppress the riots &c. to which the distress and decay of trade had given rise in the clothing districts.

Side by side with the industrial distress and decay of trade and monetary scarcity which has been dwelt upon at such length here, it must be admitted that considerable prosperity existed also.

Large fortunes were amassed by many of the London merchants, especially by those engaged in the East India trade. Such undertakings, by private enterprise, as the construction of the New River by Hugh Myddelton, to supply London with water; the foundation of the Charter House School by Sutton, &c., give evidence of wealth and prosperity. Moreover the same is witnessed in the rapid growth of

¹ See *C. J.*, vol. i. April 1624.

London, which took place at this time, and the restraint of which is the subject of repeated proclamations of the king.

At the end of the reign it was clear that, in spite of all the distress and the difficulties in the way of trade, great advance had been made in many directions. The East India Company, in spite of the rebuffs from the Dutch in the Moluccas, had obtained a firm foothold in the trade with the mainland of India and with Persia. The foundation of a new England in America, begun in 1607, reinforced by subsequent bands of emigrants, had been achieved in the face of many difficulties. In Ireland some kind of settlement had been attained, and the plantation of the province of Ulster by English and Scotch colonists begun.

The aspect of home trade and industry at the close of the reign was not very bright, and difficulties in the cloth trade and in the maintenance of the poor inevitably followed. No crisis equal in severity to that of 1622-3 occurred. This may be attributed in part at least to the fact that Charles I. was fortunate in this, that the forces contributing to monetary and trade difficulties under James had in great measure ceased to exist and that Western Europe was fairly adequately and evenly supplied with the precious metals.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, SESSION 1897-98.

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society present their Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows.

The President delivered his Annual Address on February 17.

The following Papers and Communications were read and discussed at the Ordinary Meetings of the Society during the past Session:—

“Marston Moor.” By C. H. Firth, M.A.

“The National Study of Naval History.” By Professor J. K. Laughton, M.A., and Hubert Hall, F.S.A., Director.

“The National Study of Military History.” By T. M. Maguire, M.A., LL.D., and the Hon. J. W. Fortescue.

“The Meeting of the Duke of Marlborough and Charles XII. at Altranstadt, April 1707.” By A. E. Stamp, M.A.

“The Sheriff’s Farm.” By G. J. Turner, B.A.

“The Florentine Wool Trades in the Middle Ages.” By Miss E. Dixon.

“A Narrative of the Journey of Cecilia, Princess of Sweden, to the Court of Queen Elizabeth.” By Miss Margaret Morison.

In addition to Volume XII. of the *Transactions*, the following volumes of Publications have been issued to the Fellows and Subscribing Libraries since the date of the last Report :—

"The Archpriest Controversy," Vol. II. Edited by T. G. Law.

"The Duke of Newcastle's Letters, 1765-7." Edited by Miss Mary Bateson.

The Council having decided, on the further report of their Committees, to award the "Alexander" Medal to the writer of an essay on some special subject of historical research, selected as the subject of the essay for the year 1898 the "Relations of the Crown to Trade in the Reign of James I." The conditions of the competition were ordered to be published, and the award for the year 1898 to be made at the General Meeting in February 1899. The successful essay, if recommended for that purpose by the Examiners, was ordered to be read at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society, and printed in the *Transactions*.

In order to place the Public Libraries which are desirous of obtaining the Society's Publications upon an equal footing with those which have been already admitted as members of the Camden Society, the Council resolved to admit all Public Libraries as subscribing members of the Society at an annual subscription of £1, subject to their election by vote of the Council.

The Librarian reports that 115 books and pamphlets have been added to the Library during the year ended October 31, 1898, bringing the number of books in the Library up to 3,950 volumes. Of the additions, 12 volumes were acquired by purchase, 45 volumes by exchange, and 58 volumes by presentation.

The Council append to their Report the Treasurer's statement of the financial position of the Society from November 1, 1897, to October 31, 1898.

They also append a Prospectus of the objects of the Society, with the Charter, Bye-laws, List of Fellows, and a Catalogue of Publications.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY BALANCE-SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 31, 1898.

	£ s. d.	October 31	£ s. d.	October 31
To Balance October 31, 1897	18 4 9			
" Subscriptions for 1895 " 2 at 2 guineas	4 4 0	By Printing		
" 1896 33 at £1 and 3d.	33 0 3	Illustrations to Publications		
" " 2 at £1. 1s.	2 2 0	" Postages, carriage and petty expenses		
" " 2 at £2. 2s.	4 4 0	" Stationery		
" " 1897 85 at £1	39 6 3	" Legal expenses		
" 1898 144 at £1. 1s. & 3d.	85 0 0	" Transcribing		
" 97 at £2. 2s.	18 18 0	" Subscriptions to Societies		
" 139 at £2. 2s.	29 18 0	" Salaries		
" 1899 2 at £1. 1s.	33 12 0	" Deposit account 3 of One Life Composition		
" 3 at £2. 2s.	16 2 0	" Book Cases		
" One Life Composition	137 10 0	" Binding		
" Cash transferred from the Camden Soc.	144 0 0	" Advertising		
" Sales of Publications	101 17 3	" Subscriptions returned		
" Russian Coupons Alexander Trust	29 18 0	" Expenses of Meeting Room		
" Interest on Deposit Account to Sept. 30	537 15 3			
	<hr/>			
	" 1899 2 at £1. 1s.	2 2 0		
	3 at £2. 2s.	6 6 0		
	<hr/>	8 8 0		
	One Life Composition	21 0 0		
	Cash transferred from the Camden Soc.	225 4 4		
	Sales of Publications	102 13 9		
	" Russian Coupons Alexander Trust	3 16 4		
	<hr/>	<hr/>		
	" Interest on Deposit Account to Sept. 30	2 15 10		
	<hr/>	<hr/>		
	To Balance Cash at London and South-Western Bank	416 14 7		
	<hr/>	<hr/>		
	£1,098 2 8	<hr/>		

CAPITAL OR RESERVE FUND ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.	October 31	£ s. d.	October 31
To Balance brought forward October 31, 1897	478 3 0	By £449 9s. 9d. 2½% Consols and Brokerage	454 0 9	
" 2½ Consols transferred from Camden Society	149 9 9	" Deposit Account at London and South-Western Bank	197 2 1	
" ¾ of One Life Composition	14 0 0	" Deposit Interest accrued to September 30, 1898	5 4 9	
" Dividends on £449 9s. 9d. 2½% Consols	11 19 0			
" Interest on Deposit Account to Sept. 30	2 15 10			
	<hr/>			
	£656 7 7	<hr/>		

We have compared the entries in the books with the vouchers from November 1, 1897, to October 31, 1898, and find them correct, showing the receipts (including £18. 4s. 9d. brought forward) to have been £1,098. 2s. 8d., and the expenditure to have been £681. 8s. 1d., leaving a balance of £416. 14s. 7d. at the London and South-Western Bank in favour of the Society.

R. DUPPA LLOYD,
I. FOSTER PALMER,
B. F. STEVENS,

Auditors.

Royal Historical Society.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

PATRON:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

PRESIDENT:

A. W. WARD, LL.D., LITT.D.

I. The Historical Society was founded in 1868, by the then Archbishop of York, the late Earl Russell, the late George Grote, the late Dean of Westminster, Sir John Lubbock, Bart., the late Earl of Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer), and other eminent men of the day, its main objects being to promote and foster the study of History, by assisting in the publication of rare and valuable documents, and by the publication from time to time of volumes of Transactions and Publications.

II. In 1872 the Society, through the Secretary of State (The late Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, afterwards Lord Aberdare, G.C.B., for many years President of the Society), received the official permission of Her Majesty the Queen to adopt the title Royal Historical Society; and in 1889 Her Majesty was pleased to cause Letters Patent, dated July 31, to be passed under the Great Seal, granting to the Society Her Majesty's Royal Charter of Incorporation. On May 2, 1897, the Camden Society was amalgamated with the Royal Historical Society, and the Camden Series of Publications was transferred to the latter Society.

III. The Society consists of a President, Fellows, and Honorary Fellows and Corresponding Members, forming together a body, at the present time, of nearly seven hundred Members. The principal States of Europe and America, British India, and the Colonies are represented by Honorary or Corresponding Fellows.

IV. The Annual Subscription to the Society is *Two Guineas*; and at present there is no entrance fee. Fellows may, on joining the Society, or afterwards, compound for all future subscriptions upon the payment of *Twenty Guineas*. Libraries are admitted to the Membership of the Society for the purpose of receiving its publications on payment of an annual subscription of *One Pound*.

V. The Fellows of the Society receive gratuitously a copy of each of the Society's Transactions and Publications during the period of their subscription.

The annual Publications of the Society will, in future, include a volume of Transactions containing selected Papers read at the Society's Evening Meetings, together with the most valuable of the original documents which may be communicated to the Society from time to time by historical scholars. In addition to this, the Council are hopeful of being able to ensure the regular production of a uniform series of Publications in the style of the Camden Series of Publications, at the rate, if possible, of two volumes in every year.

VI. Ordinary Meetings of the Society for the reading of Papers and discussions thereon are held from November to June, on the *third Thursday* in each month, at 5 P.M. The Anniversary Meeting is held on the *third Thursday* in February, when the President delivers his Annual Address.

VII. The Library of the Society is deposited at 115 St. Martin's Lane, W.C. Donations of Historical books and documents will be received and acknowledged by the Librarian. All parcels should be marked "Royal Historical Society." It is hoped that all Fellows of the Society who publish Historical works will present copies to the Library.

VIII. The Royal Historical Society, being incorporated, is now in a position to receive and benefit by legacies. The means of usefulness of many corporations has been largely increased by the bequests of its members; and it is hoped that the income of the Society may eventually be supplemented from this source.

IX. All literary communications, proposals for Papers to be read before the Society, or Historical documents or relics to be exhibited at the ordinary Meetings, should be addressed to the Director,

HUBERT HALL, F.S.A.

60 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

All communications respecting the Library should be addressed to the Librarian,

THOMAS MASON, F.R. Hist. S.

115 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.

All subscriptions, unless paid by Banker's Order, should be sent to the Treasurer,

R. HOVENDEN, F.S.A.

Heathcote,

Park Hill Road,

Croydon, Surrey.

Communications on all other subjects should be addressed to the Secretary,

115 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.

N.S.—VOL. XIII.

T

No. I.

FORM OF A CANDIDATE'S CERTIFICATE.

Certificate of Candidate for Election.

Name,

Title, Profession, or Occupation,

Residence,

being desirous of admission into the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
we the undersigned recommend him as a fit and proper person to
be admitted as a Fellow.

Dated this day of 189

..... *F.R. Hist. Soc.* { *From personal knowledge.*

..... *F.R. Hist. Soc.* } *From general knowledge.*
..... *F.R. Hist. Soc.*

Proposed 189

Elected 189

*Copies of this Form may be obtained on application to MR. THOMAS MASON,
115 St. Martin's Lane, W.C.*

No. II.

A VOTE by ballot, when necessary, shall be conducted in the usual manner, and the Secretary shall cause Voting Papers to be prepared for that purpose in the following form :—

VOTING PAPER.

Election held 18.....

<i>Candidates for the office of President :</i>	1. 2.
<i>Vice- President :</i>	1. 2. 3.
Retiring Members who offer themselves for re-election : 1. 2. 3. 4.	
<i>For the Council :</i>	Candidates nominated under Rule V. : 5. 6. 7. 8.

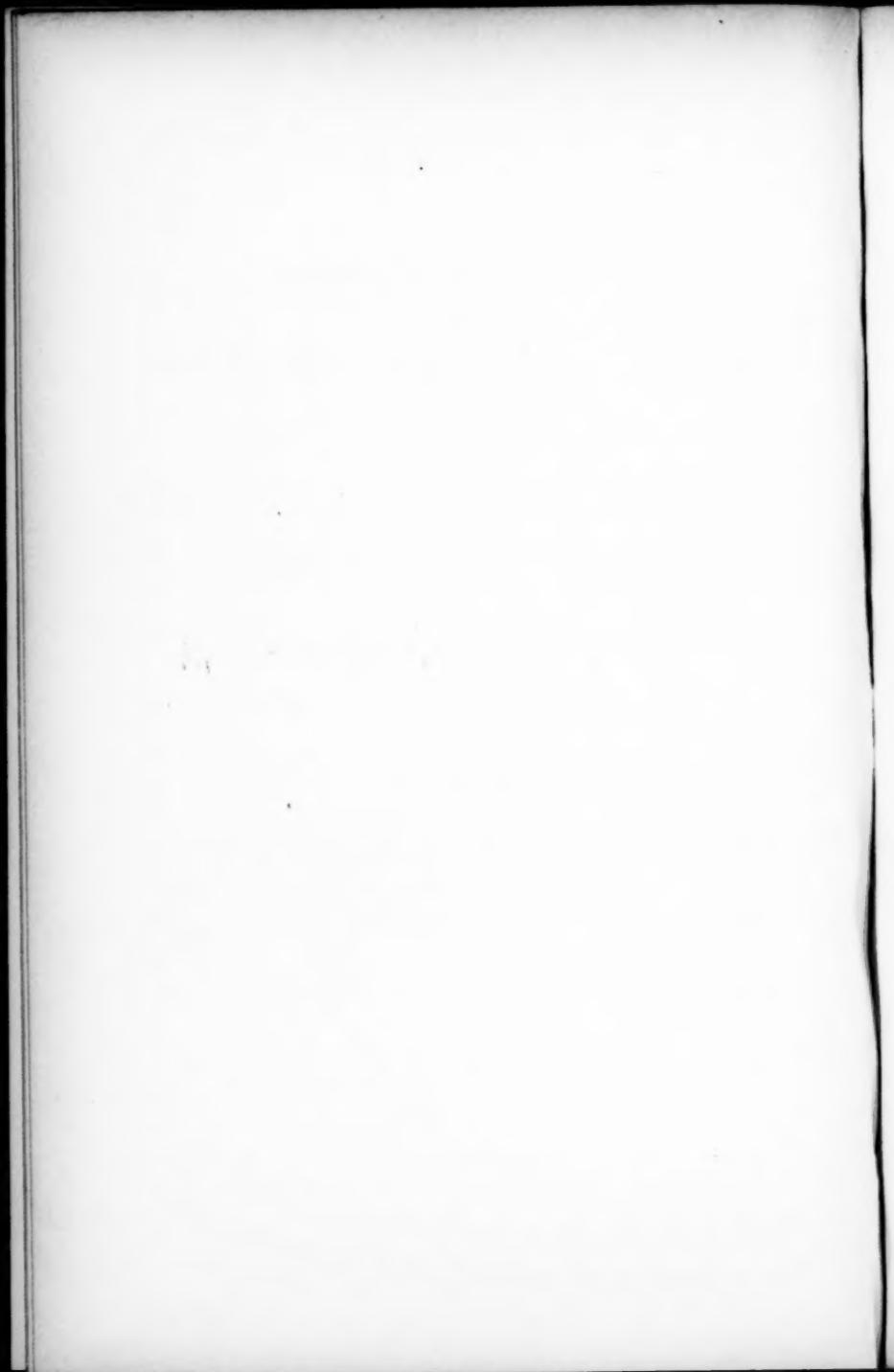
Fellows shall record their votes by putting a cross against the names of the Candidates in whose favour they wish to vote. If any Fellow shall record his vote for more Candidates than there are vacancies, his Voting Paper shall be void.

No. III.**FORM OF LEGACY**

I give and bequeath unto the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY the sum of £
such legacy to be paid out of such part of my personal estate, not specifically bequeathed, as the law permits to be appropriated by will to such a purpose.

Note.—Gifts may be made by will of stock in the public funds, shares or debentures of railway or other joint-stock companies, or money be paid out of the testator's pure personal estate, or of personal chattels.

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION



CHARTER OF INCORPORATION
OF THE
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Victoria, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, TO ALL TO WHOM these Presents shall come, Greeting ;

WHEREAS Our right trusty and well beloved Councillor, Henry Austin, Baron Aberdare, Knight Grand Cross of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath, Fellow of the Royal Society, has by his Petition humbly represented unto Us, That in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, His Grace the Archbishop of York, the late Right Honourable John, Earl Russell, K.G., F.R.S., the late Very Reverend the Dean of Westminster, Sir John Lubbock, Baronet, the late Sir John Bowring, LL.D., Sir Roundell Palmer, Q.C., M.P., D.C.L., now Earl of Selborne, the late George Grote, Esquire, F.R.S., and others of Our subjects formed themselves into a Society known as the Historical Society of Great Britain, having for its object the promotion of the study of History ;

AND WHEREAS We were pleased in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two to permit the said Society to adopt the name and title of the Royal Historical Society ;

AND WHEREAS in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven We were pleased to become Patron of the said Royal Historical Society ;

AND WHEREAS it has been represented to Us by the said Petitioner that the said Society has been and continues to be actively employed in promoting the object for which the said Society was founded, and has published thirteen volumes of Transactions containing original memoirs read before the Society, and did also in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six appoint a Com-

mittee for the due celebration of the eight hundredth anniversary of the completion of the Domesday Book of His late Majesty William the First, by which Committee meetings for the reading of papers and exhibitions of Domesday Book and other manuscripts were held, and the papers read at the meetings have been published under the title of Domesday Studies, of which We have been pleased to accept the dedication, and the said Society has also published the despatches from Paris in one thousand eight hundred and two—one thousand eight hundred and three of Lord Whitworth, Ambassador of His late Majesty King George III;

AND WHEREAS the said Society has in aid of its objects collected a Library to which additions are constantly being made, and other property;

AND WHEREAS the said Petitioner, believing that the well-being and usefulness of the said Society would be materially promoted by its obtaining a Charter of Incorporation, hath therefore, on behalf of himself and the other Fellows of the said Society, most humbly prayed that We would be pleased to grant to those who now are, or who shall from time to time become Fellows of the said Society, Our Royal Charter of Incorporation;

NOW KNOW YE that We, being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary, of Our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have granted, directed and declared, and by these Presents do grant, direct, and declare that the said Henry Austin, Baron Aberdare, and such others of Our loving subjects as now are Fellows of the said Royal Historical Society (hereinafter called the said Society), or as shall hereafter from time to time become under the provisions of these Presents Members of the Body Politic and Corporate by these Presents created, shall for ever hereafter be one Body Politic and Corporate by the name of the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY; and for the purposes aforesaid, and by the name aforesaid, shall have perpetual succession and a Common Seal, with full power and authority to alter or vary, break and renew the same at their discretion, and by the same name to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered in every Court of Us, Our Heirs and Successors.

AND Our will and pleasure is, that the Royal Historical Society hereby created (hereinafter called the Corporation) may, notwithstanding the Statutes of Mortmain, take, purchase, hold and enjoy

to them and their successors a hall or house, and such other lands, tenements, and hereditaments as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of the Society, Provided that the yearly value of such lands, tenements, and hereditaments (including the said hall or house) computed at the yearly value of the same at the time of the respective purchases or acquisition thereof do not exceed in the whole the sum of Two thousand pounds sterling.

AND Our will and pleasure is, and We do hereby declare, That there shall always be a Council of the Corporation, and that the said Council shall consist of a President, not less than six Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not less than fourteen Councillors, who shall be elected and retire in accordance with the Bye-laws for the time being of the Corporation, and that the present Council of the said Society shall be the first Council of the Corporation ;

AND Our will and pleasure is, That the Council of the Corporation may from time to time make, revoke, alter, and amend bye-laws for all or any of the following purposes, to wit :—

- (a) Prescribing the manner in which persons may become members of the Corporation and the conditions of membership, and the rights, powers, duties, privileges, and amotion of the members of the Corporation ;
- (b) Prescribing the tenure of office by the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, and Councillors of the Corporation (including those hereby appointed), and the mode of electing or appointing future Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Treasurers, Secretaries and Councillors, and the rights, powers, duties, privileges, and amotion of the first and future Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Treasurers, Secretaries, and Councillors ;
- (c) With respect to the appointments, emoluments, and tenure of office of the officers and servants of the Corporation ;
- (d) The election or appointment and amotion of honorary members or Fellows of the Corporation (who may, if the bye-laws so declare, be either Our subjects or foreigners, or both) ;
- (e) The classes into which Members are to be admitted ;
- (f) Generally for regulating the affairs, property, business, and interests of the Corporation and its Council and Members, and making, revoking, altering, and amending bye-laws and carrying out the objects of these Presents ;

Provided that such bye-laws shall not be valid unless and until they have been approved by a clear majority of the members of the Corporation present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose, and Provided also that if any bye-law be contrary to the objects of the Corporation, or the intent or meaning of this Our Charter, or the laws or statutes of Our Realm, the same shall be absolutely null and void.

WE do further direct and declare that the existing bye-laws of the said Society shall (so far as they are applicable) apply to the Corporation, its Council, members, and affairs until bye-laws made under these Presents have come into force but no longer.

WE do further by these Presents declare that it is Our will and pleasure that these Presents may be repealed, altered, amended, or added to by any Charter granted by Us, Our Heirs and Successors, at any time hereafter, and accepted by a clear majority of the members of the Corporation present at a Meeting specially summoned for the purpose.

IN WITNESS whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent. WITNESS Ourselves at Westminster, the thirtieth day of July, in the fifty-third year of Our Reign.

BY WARRANT UNDER THE QUEEN'S SIGN MANUAL,

MUIR MACKENZIE.

L.S.

BYE-LAWS



THE BYE-LAWS
OF THE
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Incorporated by Royal Charter).



I.—The Society shall consist of Ordinary, Corresponding, and Honorary Fellows. The number of Honorary Fellows shall not exceed Seventy-five; and of these not more than twenty-five shall be British subjects.

II.—The Council shall be chosen from the Ordinary Fellows, and shall consist of not less than twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and not less than sixteen Fellows.

III.—The President shall be elected by the Fellows at the Anniversary Meeting, and shall hold office for a term of four years. The past Presidents shall be ex-officio Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Society.

IV.—The three Vice-Presidents senior on the roll, and the four Members of Council senior on the roll, shall retire annually, but shall be eligible for re-election.

V.—The names of Fellows to be submitted for election as Office-Bearers and Members of Council shall be proposed by the Council, and intimated to the Fellows at least Fifteen days before the Anniversary Meeting; but any ten Fellows of the Society may nominate

Fellows to supply vacancies, such names being notified to the Secretary at least Ten days before the said Meeting. If there should be more than three Candidates for the office of Vice-President, or more than four Candidates to fill the vacancies in the Council, the elections shall take place by ballot, as provided in Appendix II.

VI.—The Council shall determine the Works, Articles, and Papers to be read at the Society's Meetings, and otherwise shall arrange the business of the Society; and nothing shall be published in the name of the Society, or under its auspices, or inserted in the Society's *Transactions* or other publications, without the authority of the Council.

VII.—The Society shall distribute gratuitously to each Ordinary Fellow a copy of the *Transactions* as the volumes are issued, these to be forwarded free of expense to all Fellows residing within the postal union.

VIII.—Fellows shall have access to the Society's Library under such regulations as may appear to the Council necessary.

IX.—Every person desirous of admission into the Society as an Ordinary Fellow must be proposed and recommended agreeably to the Form No. I. in the Appendix hereto, and such recommendation must be subscribed by two Fellows at least, one of whom must certify his personal knowledge of such candidate. The certificate thus filled up shall be delivered to the Secretary, and shall be communicated by him to the Council at their next meeting, when the election of such candidate may take place.

X.—Fellows shall be elected by the Council on the vote of two-thirds of the Members of Council present. The names of those so elected shall be announced at the next Ordinary Meeting of Fellows.

XI.—The Secretary shall send to every elected Fellow notice of his election within seven days thereafter. No election of an Ordinary Fellow shall be complete, neither shall his name be printed in the list of the Society, nor shall he be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of a Fellow, until he shall have paid

his entrance fee and first year's contribution, or compounded for the same, as hereinafter provided ; and unless these payments be made within three calendar months from the date of election, such election may be declared void by the Council.

XII.—Every Fellow of the Society shall furnish his Address, or that of his Agent or Banker, to the Secretary ; and all notices or packets posted or sent to such address shall be held to be duly delivered.

XIII.—The Council shall be empowered to elect persons of distinction as Honorary Fellows, and also Corresponding Members, but these shall have no claim (unless on the usual annual payment) to receive the publications or vote at the Meetings of the Society. The Council shall also have power to elect in each year two persons eminent in historical studies, who shall have all the privileges of Life Fellows.

XIV.—If any Fellow of the Society or any Honorary Fellow shall so demean himself that it would be for the dishonour of the Society that he longer continue to be a Fellow thereof, the Council shall take the matter into consideration ; and if the majority of the Members of the Council present at some meeting (of which and of the matter in hand such Fellow and every Member of the Council shall have due notice) shall decide by ballot to recommend that such Fellow be expelled from the Society, the Chairman shall at the next Ordinary Meeting announce to the Society the recommendation of the Council, and at the following Ordinary Meeting the question shall be decided by ballot, and if at least three-fourths of the number voting are in favour of the expulsion, the name of such Fellow shall forthwith be removed from the roll.

XV.—The Annual Subscription shall be Two Guineas, provided always that Fellows elected prior to the 1st of March, 1884, shall not be required to pay more than One Guinea annually, and Members of the Camden Society elected prior to the 1st March, 1895, the sum of One Pound annually. The entrance fee shall be fixed from time to time by the Council.

XVI.—Fellows of the Society may at any time compound for their annual subscription by the single payment of Twenty Guineas,

of which Fourteen Pounds Sterling shall be placed to the Capital Account of the Society.

XVII.—No Fellow shall be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of the Society unless and until his subscriptions for the current and previous years have been paid.

XVIII.—All Annual Subscriptions, except the first, shall be due and payable on the 1st January, and any Fellow of the Society who shall fail to pay his subscription on or before the 1st of June shall be applied to in writing by the Secretary; and if the same be not paid on or before the 31st October following, the Council shall be empowered to remove his name from the roll, but such Fellows shall continue liable to the Society for the arrears of their subscriptions.

XIX.—The Meetings of the Society are of three kinds—Anniversary, Special, and Ordinary.

XX.—The Anniversary Meeting shall be held on the Third Thursday of February, or at such other time as the Council shall from time to time appoint. At the Anniversary Meeting the vacancies in the Council shall be filled up.

XXI.—The Council may at any time call a Special Meeting of the Society whenever it shall be considered necessary, and shall convene a Special Meeting of the Society on a requisition to that effect being made by twenty Fellows, the date of such Meeting being fixed within one month from the receipt of the requisition.

XXII.—A fortnight's notice, at least, of the time when, and the object for which, every Special Meeting is to be holden shall be sent to every Fellow residing in the United Kingdom; and no other business than that of which notice has been thus given shall be entered upon or discussed at such Meeting.

XXIII.—At every Special Meeting of the Society ten Fellows shall form a quorum.

XXIV.—The Ordinary Meetings shall be held on the third Thursday of each month, from November to June inclusive in each year, or at such other times as the Council shall determine.

XXV.—At the Ordinary Meetings papers and communications shall be read and discussed ; but nothing relating to the regulations or management of the Society shall be brought forward.

XXVI.—Visitors to the Ordinary Meetings may be admitted, if introduced personally by Fellows, or by their written order, under such regulations as the Council may determine.

XXVII.—In all Meetings of the Council five shall be a quorum, and all questions shall be decided by show of hands, unless a ballot be demanded.

XXVIII.—The Accounts of the Society shall be from time to time examined by the Council, who shall present, and cause to be read to the Anniversary Meeting a complete statement thereof, together with a report on the general affairs of the Society during the preceding year.

XXIX.—The Council shall appoint any persons they deem fit to be salaried officers or clerks, for carrying on the necessary concerns of the Society ; and shall define the duties to be performed by them respectively, and shall allow to them respectively such salaries, gratuities, and privileges as the Council may deem proper ; and may suspend or discharge any officer or clerk from office whenever there shall seem to them occasion for so doing.

XXX.—The Council shall elect their own Chairman and Vice-Chairman to preside over their Meetings, and in the absence of both any Member of Council present may be elected to preside.

XXXI.—In all Meetings of the Society and Council, except in the cases otherwise provided for, the decision of a majority of the Fellows voting shall be considered as the decision of the Meeting, the President or Chairman having a casting vote only.

XXXII.—The Treasurer shall receive all moneys due to the Society, and on the order of the Council pay out of the moneys so received all charges on the Society's funds ; he shall keep a proper account of his receipts and payments. All cheques or orders on the Treasurer or his banker for the payment of any sum of money above £2 shall be signed at a Meeting of the Council by three Members thereof, or by two Members with the counter signature of the Secretary for the time being.

XXXIII.—At the last Ordinary Meeting in each session, the Fellows shall choose two Auditors, not of the Council, who, with one Auditor appointed by the Council, shall audit the Treasurer's accounts, and report thereon to the Society, which report shall be presented to the Anniversary Meeting.

XXXIV.—On a vacancy occurring in the office of President or other office of the Society, or in the Council, the Council shall have power to supply such vacancy until the following Anniversary Meeting.

XXXV.—Any Fellow of the Society who proposes to read a Paper at any Ordinary Meeting shall submit it for the approval of the Council, and shall state in writing whether such Paper has, in whole or in part, been previously read to any other Society, or publicly utilised in any form ; but it shall rest with the Council to determine whether a Paper shall be read or utilised by the Society.

Royal Historical Society.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL—1899-1900.

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AND OF

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*Names of Members of Council are printed in SMALL CAPITALS.
Those marked * have compounded for their Annual Subscriptions.*

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Abbot, Richard, Forcett, near Darlington.

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Atheneum Club, S.W.

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* Ashcombe, Lord, 123 St. George's Square, Pimlico, S.W.

Aspden, Thomas, Eng/and Office, 291 Strand, W.C.

Backhouse, Jonathan E., Bank, Darlington.

Baer, Messrs. J., & Co., Frankfort.

* Baguley, Henry, 6 Park Road, Wandsworth, S.W.

Baker, James, Sewella Villa, Clifton, Bristol.

Ballinger, John, Librarian, Public Libraries, Cardiff.

Baltimore, Peabody Institute.

Baltimore, Enoch Pratt Library.

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 Bannerman, W. Bruce, The Lindens, Sydenham Road, Croydon.
 * Barnard, John, Spring Hall, Sawbridgeworth, Herts.
 Barnard, F. P., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., St. Mary's Abbey, Windermere.
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 Bartlett, Franklin, 82 Times Buildings, New York.
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 Bateson, Miss Mary, 74 Huntingdon Road, Cambridge.
 Baxter, Wynne E., F.R.G.S., 170 Church Street, Stoke Newington.
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 Blanch, John Tempest, Hope Villa, 59 Colart Road, Liverpool.
 Bliss, William H., 36 Via de Delfini, Rome.
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 Boston Athenaeum, U.S.A.
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 * Brackenridge, George Washington, San Antonia, Texas, U.S.A.
 Bradford Subscription Library.
 Braikenridge, William Jerdone, 16 Royal Crescent, Bath.
 Bramwell, Sir F. J., F.R.S., 5 Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
 Brent, Francis, F.S.A., 6 Tothill Avenue, Plymouth.
 Breslau, Königl.-Universitäts-Bibliothek, c/o Messrs. Asher & Co., 13 Bedford
 Street, Strand.
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 Brighton Public Library.
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 Bristol Museum and Reference Library.
 Britten, Lieut.-Col. John, 106 Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington, W.
 * Brocklehurst, Septimus, F.R.G.S., Olinda, Aigburth Drive, Sefton Park,
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 Browne, Harold C. G., 15 Kingsgate Street, Winchester.
 BROWNING, OSCAR, M.A., King's College, Cambridge.

Buchanan, William Frederick, F.R.G.S., Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.
 • Burdett-Coutts, The Baroness, 1 Stratton Street, W.
 Burrows, Professor MONTAGU, M.A., F.S.A., Chichele Professor of Modern History, Oxford, 9 Norham Gardens, Oxford.
 • Butt, Arthur N., London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E.C.

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